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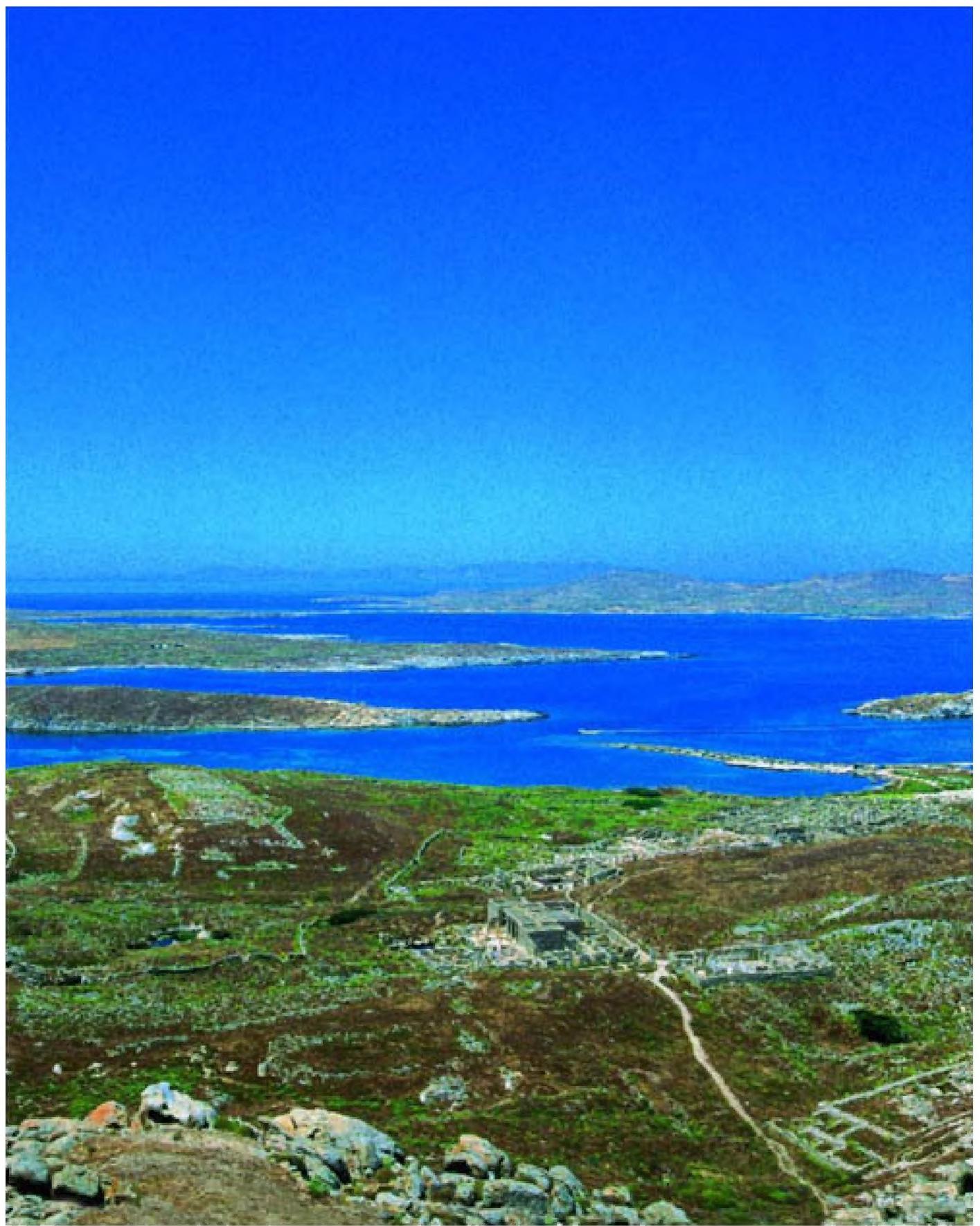
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P. J. HADJIDAKIS

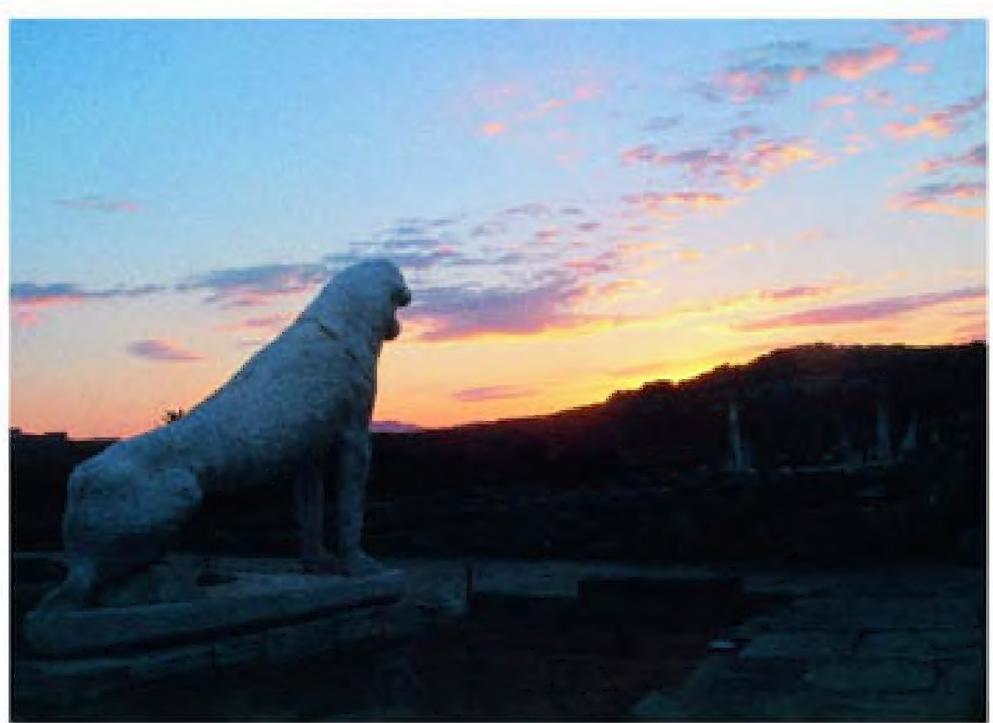


DELOS









On the little island of Delos, a unique body of evidence has accumulated that sheds light on Hellenic history from the 3rd millennium BC up to the 7th cent. AD. Its monuments, which have been designated part of the World Cultural Heritage and are protected by UNESCO, have always been the object of special attention and concern on the part of the Ministry of Culture. Despite the difficulties on the island, a significant effort is under way in recent years to conserve and restore this unique site, gradually making it more "legible" and friendly to its many visitors.

Poets from Homer and Pindar through Antipater of Thessaloniki to George Seferis have praised the island that was the birthplace of Apollo, the "most Greek" of all the gods, to whom was attributed all those special characteristics that the Hellenic culture bequeathed to humanity: light, moderation, balance, harmony. Every year, pilgrims from all Greek cities would flock to the god's Panhellenic Sanctuary where they soon became conscious of their national identity, the "same blood, same language and same religion" that drew them together, as Herodotus states succinctly. In the city that grew up around the Sanctuary in the 3rd cent. BC, all the peoples of the Mediterranean co-existed in peace, absolutely free to work and worship their own ancestral gods, thus constituting an especially salutary example for our times.

The international bibliography includes hundreds of studies by experts on various aspects of the Delian monuments. For the first time, thanks to the Latsis Group, IFC Eurobank Ergasias and Mr P.J. Hadjidakis, the culture that developed on the island is made accessible to the general public, and representative older and recent findings, characteristic of the daily public and private life of the inhabitants, have been gathered together in this elegant book. It is my pleasure to preface it and to congratulate all those who contributed to it for the significant scholarly and aesthetic result.

EVANGELOS VENIZELOS
Minister of Culture



The very first time

I visited Delos. I felt its magic enveloping me, and the dazzling light that shone on the island bringing the ancient marbles to life, lending them an almost unearthly radiance.

I imagine that this feeling of timelessness was also the reason why the ancient Greeks selected it as the birthplace of Apollo, god of light and the Hellenic sky, god of the beauty and harmony of the Greek landscape, and god of poetry and music.

The priceless findings in the Museum of Delos – the city whose vestiges thousands of visitors and pilgrims encounter in their every footstep, with its splendid public buildings, its luxury dwellings, its theatre, temples and ports – give the place a singular magnificence and a sacred aura that permeates everything.

It is this sacredness, this singularity and above all this eternal light which continues to brighten and purify our world that the Latsis Group and EFG Eurobank Ergasias wanted to capture in this book.

To the author, Mr P.J. Hadjidakis, as well as to all those who contributed to this publication in any way, I extend sincere congratulations and the hope that this handsome volume will be a vehicle bringing us closer to the mortals and gods who lived there.

MARIANNA LATSI



This book

aspires to be a voyage in space and time, a voyage of acquaintanceship with the gods and men who walked on the little island of Delos and made it unique. For this reason, the usual distinctions of "Archaeological Site" and "Museum" were not applied, nor was a strict chronological order adopted. The exhibits were "taken out" of the Museum, seen either in conjunction with the sites on which they were found, thus filling in the picture created by the remains of the buildings, or forming thematic units that illuminate the character of the people who created them, their activities, concerns and fears. References to stylistic aspects of the findings or their place in art history are minimal, both because such studies have been done frequently in the past, but primarily because our interest has focused on the creator, not the creation, on the message carried, not the carrier, and on the text not the font type or paper. Thus objects are presented not as works of art, nor simply as the admirable achievements of our ancestors, but rather as the occasion, starting point and means of approaching and understanding the people who created and used these objects and the age they lived in.

This voyage would never have been possible without the generosity of the Latsis Group and EFC Eurobank Ergasias, without Marianna Latsis personal interest and affection for Delos, or without the enthusiasm, constant encouragement and support of Vangelis Chronis. Photographer Yannis Patrikianos, with his well-known conscientiousness and persistence, worked in the Museum for many days and nights in order to achieve the desired result. Dimitris Kalokyris, with the sensitivity and patience that distinguish him, was able to tame the heterogeneous material and give form and shape to the book. Irene Louvrou, assisted by her years of experience, coordinated the entire effort with her characteristic decisiveness and innate cordiality. Dionysis Plessas and his associates worked tirelessly to ensure the aesthetic quality of the illustrations. I thank them all warmly.

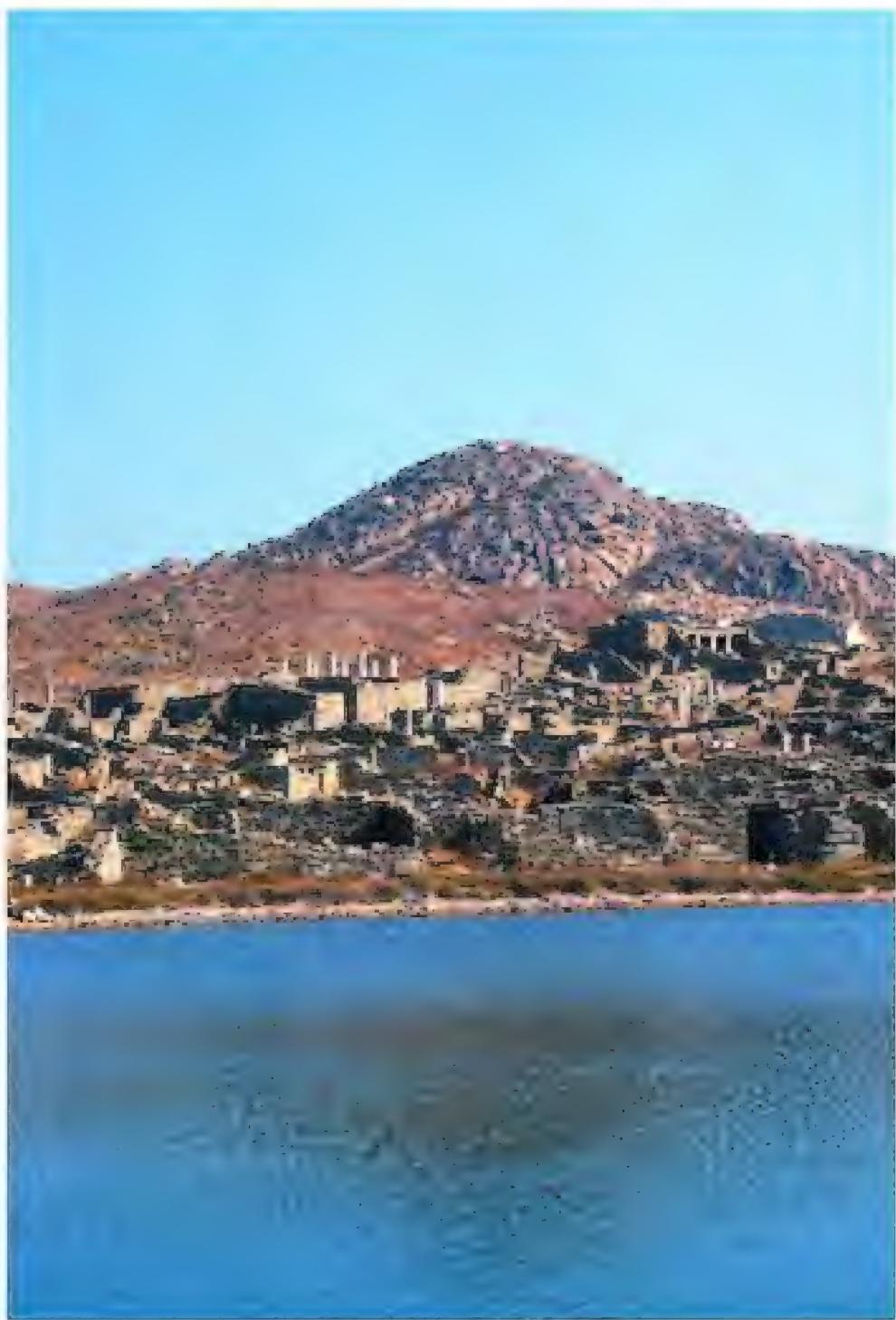
P.J. HADJIDAKIS



Χαῖρε', τὸ θεοῦδυνότεσκα, λαππαρηπλουκάρμενοι, παρ-
βεσσαι Λαστοῖς ἴμεροέσταταν Ἐρωτεῖ,
πίστιν τοι πινγατερό, χιλιούδες εὐφείας ἐκτι-
νήτον τέρμας, ὃν τε βροτοί
Δᾶλον κακλήσκουσσαν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ολύμπῳ
τριλέπροντον κηπονέας γῆλονδες ἀπτζαν.

(Ιωάννης, οἰδη, 58 - 70 15^ο cent, ΒΟ)

Hail to thee, aisle built by the gods, beloved blesser of the children of the
fair-dressed Leto, daughter of the sea, thou unmeasured wonder of the
wide earth, whom mortals call Delos, but where the blessed gods living high on Olympus call the black earth's far-seeing star.



Τὴν Ἱερῆν, ὁ Πομπέ, τίνα χρήσιν ή ποτ' ἀείστις
Δῆλουν. Απόλλωνις καιριτεριώφιν: Ἡ μὲν ὄπασσι
Κυκλάδες, αἱ νῆσοιν ἴερώταται εἰν δὲλι κείνται.
εύημνοι. Δῆλος δὲ ἐπέλει τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι
ἐκ Μουσέων, ὅτι Φοῖβον ἀστιάων μεδέσοντα
λούσσε τε καὶ σπείρωσε καὶ ὡς θεὸν γῆνεσε πρότη.
Ως Μοῦσαι τὸν ἀπιδὴν δὲ μη Πίμπλεισν ἀείση
Σχήτουσιν, τῷς Φοῖβος ὅτις Δῆλοι λάθηται.
Δῆλοι γῆν σέμης ἀποδάσσομαι, ὡς ἂν Απόλλων
Κύνθιος αἰνήσῃ με φύης ὀλέγοντα τιθήνης.

Ιστὶν δὲ νῆσοιν εὐέστις, χαῖρε μὲν αἰτῇ
χαίροι δὲ Απόλλων τε καὶ ἡν ἐλογεύμσατο Λητώ.

(Αριζαρίνη, Το Μέλος (ΕΠ εργ. 18))

My soul, in what year and when will you sing of sacred Delos, Apollo's
name? And even though all the Cyclades are celebrated in hymns
and most sacred of all the islands in the sea, in Delos must go the
first gifts of the Muses, because it was she that first bathed and swaddled
Phœbus, leader of songs, as an infant and honored him as a god. As
the Muses are enemies of any singer who does not praise Pimplos, so
Phœbus abhors anyone who forgets Delos. This is why I now dedicate
this hymn to Delos, so that Ulysses Phœbus, of whose beloved nurse I
sing, will praise me... beautiful islands, beautiful earth, hail to thee and
to Apollo and to her whom he brought forth.



ON LETO'S UPHILL PATHS

(verse from a poem)

*Two crickets take root in the eyes [...] words of the future
legends of the future)*

—when shall we go to Delos?

*two north winds of May two north winds of April
and the wind-tossed leaf uncovered two stars*

—when shall we two go to Delos?

At times you'll see the rocks of time I'll see the wave

on Leto's uphill paths

and we shall hear the two-stringed footstep of our hearts

I'll be ending or beginning a poem

for the primeval cockroaches to recite to each other

on Leto's uphill paths.

I'll give you the eyes [...]

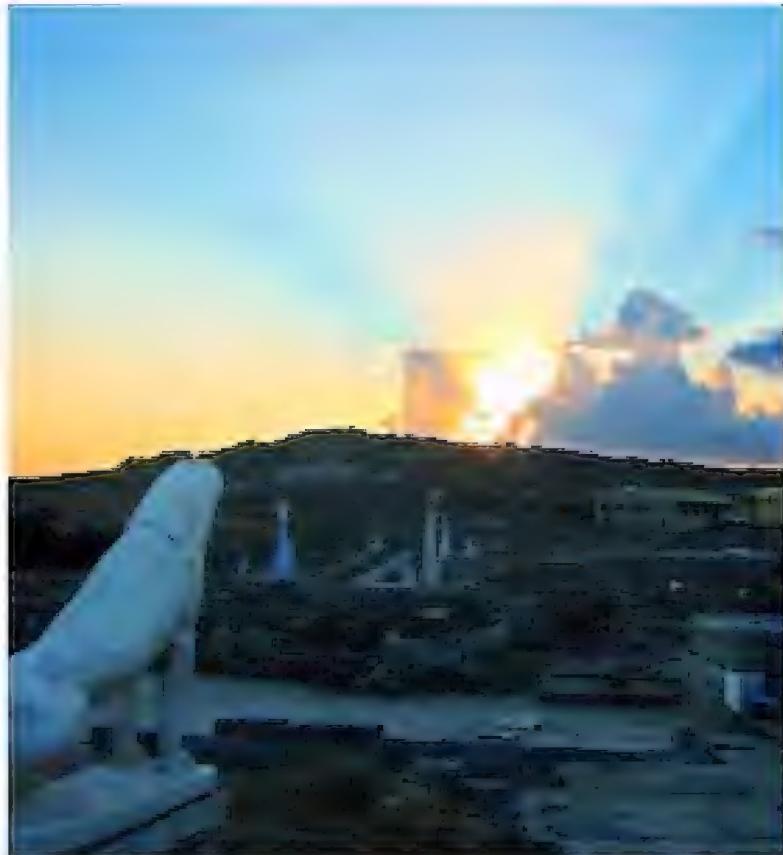
—When shall we two go to Delos?

I'll give you petals

the north winds of May the north winds of April,

And if some other wind-bent leaf hides us

how shall we two go to Delos?



In other words, winter darkness has often been a place to much as Africa does. When the temperature of the sun on the island are mild, calm and comfortable.

Delos, birthplace of light

Even though

it is one of the smallest islands in the Aegean, Delos was the most famous and *sacred* *Argive* *divinity* of all islands in antiquity, since according to the legend, it was there that Apollo-Delos, god of daylight, and Artemis-Selene, goddess of night-light, were born – it was, in short, the birthplace of light, which the Greeks always regarded as the most precious good. In this seemingly deserted city that follows the gentle slopes of the hills down to the sea, in the sanctuaries of the gods and in its harbours, every little piece of marble, every statue and every rock radiate, ever explaining and recalling that on this island, which is but a dot in the Aegean, "the Great, the Most Beautiful Apollo" was born, and his twin sister Artemis.

Heser relates the charming myth. Leto, pregnant by Zeus, wandered from Thrace to Imbros, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Cos, Rhodes and Aegina searching desperately for a place of refuge in which to give birth. But no place would receive her; they all feared the rage of Hera, the wife whom Zeus had betrayed. Only an unimportant and inviolably (adjective) *far* *of* *use* that Iasos among the Argian, disdained by all, agreed hastily: "And what if the god whom he is born sees me thus and, and scorns me? What if he goes to another land, many-treed, to build his temple and kicks me to the depths of the sea, to become a nest for black seals and octopuses?" The desperate Leto vowed "by the earth and the broad sky and the waters of the Styx, that the Sanctuary and the altar of Phoebe will be here forever and he will honour you above all other places." Unsettled in Zeus' anchorage the windswept Iasos, flinging rock to the sea floor with diamond columns, and from ashore, the little island then became "what mortals call Delos, but what the blessed gods call Olympus", who see the world from on high, "call the black earth's farseen star" (Hindar). Although the wanderings of Leto, who by then was about to give birth, stopped on Delos, her pain did not, because Hera detained Rithyia, goddess of childbirth, on Olympus. After Leto suffered nine days and nights of torment, the other goddesses intervened and despatched Iris to Olympus, who by promising Rithyia a nine-cubit necklace of gold and amber, convinced her to hasten to Delos.

As soon as Rithyia arrived on the island, she exhausted Leto "clasped a palmette with her arms, knelt on the soft meadow" and gave birth first to Artemis and then to Apollo. As soon as the fair-haired god was born, "the earth smiled, Delos was inundated with golden light and became a Daiser-bedecked meadow, swans began singing and the dawded goddesses cheered." Thetis, Erene, Rhea, Amphitrite and other goddesses wrapped the divine infant in swaddling clothes and fed him breast and ambrosia, while Zeus himself watched the Hebrew boy children from the top of Mt Kythnos. This great gathering of allureably powers, who cooperated in harmony and contributed to the birth of light, charged Delos with positive energy forever. Even today, the followers of the Hindu religion regard Delos as a site no less sacred than Varanasi.

Delos is situated in the heart of the Aegean, in the centre of the Cyclades (that form a classic circle around it, "hearth of the islands" as Callimachus calls it, i.e. shrine and centre of the islands). Even though it is just 3.5 km from Mykonos, and 1 km from Rheneia, the atmosphere on the island is different, as is the light – the choices of the ancient Greeks were never random.

What we regard as myth today was considered history in antiquity and none of the ancient authors ever wondered why this insignificant rock was selected as the birthplace of the most important god in the Hellenic Pantheon, a theme of great interest to modern scholars. In the Syros newspaper *Palio* on 31 March 1981, we read the following news item:

"For many days the spirit of antiquities in Delos, Mr Stamatakis, has been engaged in making observations at the equinox with respect to the position of Syros and Delos in relation to the ancient mythology and the Homeric Sirens. To this end, together with the secondary school principal, Mr Gaitanis and the teacher Mr Lazaridis, he made a trip the day before yesterday - the day of the equinox - to Naxos. From the top of Ida he observed the rising and setting of the sun. And although it was not possible to see it owing to the many wreaths, it was nevertheless confirmed that Delos lies due east of Syros and Naxos due west of it. According to Mr Stamatakis, in very ancient times, there was a centre of the Minoan civilisation on Syros, in a place called Mycana today, and because the Minoans were sun-worshippers, they placed the cult of Apollo on Delos, the island to the east."

Contemporary scientific measurements have shown that Delos is one of the sunniest spots in the world. For those of us who live on the island, this is a fact, as is the positive charge, the serenity and the very special nature of the place.

The same god was worshipped both at Delphi and on Delos. The wild, imposing landscape of Delphi prepares the visitor to approach the dark, mysterious god with awe, the god who brings Crisis to disaster and Orestes to matricide. The Delian landscape, on the contrary, like the human body, has soft curves and no hard lines. The low hills, the little valleys, the distances, the temples - all are on a human scale, nothing is oppressive or prohibitive. All these features give the sea an amazing gentleness and serenity: they make it humanly warm, familiar as an embrace, and it is not at all accidental that the other aspect of the god is worshipped here: the Apollo of light and colour, the god who represents all three qualities that make the Hellenic civilisation special: light, moderation, harmony, balance; the god of poetry and music, the Mnemoneus and life-giver, the "ever beautiful, ever young, he on whose tender cheeks no down grows and from whose locks fragrant oil drops upon the ground". (Callimachus) The difference between the god's two cult centres is expressed in lines from Pandelis Prevelakis's poem "Young Unknown":

You did not find me a fitting herb to rear
but for the radiant glow of a star you gave under my roof

The dramatic Delphic landscape bursts upon the visitor with the force of lightning. Delos is "like the reflected glow of a star" that shines eternally in the soul of those who visit it. "Strange who has not come here?" wrote the Mycenaean poet P. Koussenhans. "hadn't been anywhere!" And later: "The twin islands, Helen with the tumult of living life and Rheneia with the silence of death, are not places for strolling around in. Many layers of our history have accumulated on their mounds. They are places of self-knowledge, harsh places, that whirl and eddy, places that devour."

This Island, this telling you, is like by fate casting me up and I am beginning to resemble it.¹¹

The silent city with its deserted houses respects itself on you and makes you silent too. Bathes you with light that strips you of matter and spreads you out in infinity; you feel lost, but at the same time you exist as you never existed before. Delos is not just a destination; it is also a point of departure for other interior voyages, a place of discovery and revelation. The epithets by which the god is worshipped describe the stages of this revelation. He is *Lysis* to those who are not ready to accept him; *Pathos* to those who can formulate questions and expect answers; *Hyles* and *Sitanus* to those to whom he reveals himself and who are beginning to distinguish the truth; *Poietos* to those who have learned the truth and finally *Keskerarios*, to those who live by the Truth by philosophical way.

Marin Heidegger wrote: "Reflections that have concerned me for some time regarding the truth, references to revelation and concealment found the desired confirmation during the sojourn on Delos. They ceased to be something apparently imaginary, they were fulfilled, they were paid for in presence, they were filled with the 'theory' of the past that had first granted presence to the Greeks. With the experience of Delos alone, the journey to Greek Antiquity is a return of 'knowing', a return near whatever the truth is...."

Walking through the once busy streets, entering the water, welcoming houses in the deserted city, strolling through its sanctuaries and markets, one gradually comes to perceive its inhabitants as neighbours and friends. Some are known by name alone, others are known only from the particularly expressive portraits that have been found in their houses; most of them are nameless and unknown, but the presence of all is strongly felt on the island and to talk about spirits would be an overgeneralization.

When holding a cup that another person warmed in his hands and raised to his lips to quench his thirst two thousand one hundred years ago, you inevitably think how relative is the concept of time, and how little human nature changes. The two thousand years that have elapsed seem like just yesterday. You feel that even the door-jambs and the stones of the houses still retain the warmth of the people who lived here. You can almost see their shadows still lengthening over the walls of the atrium in the afternoon. You can feel them walking beside you, stopping to look sadly at the ruined walls and cryptic names that once resonated with voices. You can touch them in the broken roof tiles, in the overturned wine cups, in the lamps that once lit long nights of love, or nights of solitude and sorrow.

*Ah, this room, how familiar it is
Near the door here was the couch
In the middle was the table he wrote at
and the three big leather chairs
How our people used dreamt great dreams
the past and the life for that matter
and now they are resting under the ground
marked being disturbed by the sun or the moon
For all men are as plants
and every human grows a flower*

W.H. CHAPMAN – YANNAIS LETTERS – Published





The Island

Straits. who was born a few years after the destruction of Delos, describes the little island in a few words: "the city of Delos is in a valley where the Sanctuaries of Apollo and Leto may be found. Kynethos, a bald rocky mountain, stands above the city. The Ineps River, which is not very large, crosses the island".² The total area of Delos is just 0.83 km²; neighbouring Rheneia is 17 km² and Mykonos is 89.7 km². The monuments excavated to date cover an area of some 0.9 km² – approximately 1/7 of the total area – in the middle of the island. The island is a granite mass 11-13 million years old (Miocene epoch) with sporadic intrusions of metamorphic carbonate rock (marble) that is more than 180 million years old. In some areas one can find younger strata of porous stone up to 1 million years old from the Pliocene or Pleistocene epochs. As a result of tectonic activity, the small-scale erosion of the rock, the morphology of the terrain and the climatic conditions, most of the surface of Delos is rocky. In some parts of the island, particularly in the little valleys of the Sanctuary of Apollo, there is land suitable for the growth of vegetation, but even there the alluvial soil layer is thin.

The valley of the Sanctuary is surrounded by low hills: Skandalas on the north west (32.3 metres high), Kampos on the north (32.8 metres), Makros (28.6 metres) and an unnamed hill (33.4 metres) on the east, Kythnos (34.6 metres) on the south east (112.0 metres), Glastipos on the south (35.7 metres) and Kato Vardia (32.8 metres) further south. Kythnos, despite the fact that it is not very high, dominates the island. From its summit one can see the whole of Delos and the surrounding islands. The Cyclades were thus named because they form a circle around Delos. Mycaklos is derived from the Greek word *myklos* = *kyklos* meaning circle). Almost all the eastern coast consists of sheer rock-dropping precipitously into the sea. The north and west coasts taper off more softly into many small coves and sandy beaches (Phousou).

Delos has a temperate island climate. Winters are mild with rare frosts and even snow, short-lived snarls; it last snowed in March of 1987. Summers are fresh and rainless, but it is often hazy in the early morning. Strong north winds (*meltemia*) of up to 6-8 on the Beaufort scale blow during July and August. Even for the most modern and well-equipped vessels, the journey to Delos can be difficult during the winter and, at times, impossible. "Travelling by sea is no laughing matter", writes Cleon in *Atticus* in July of 51 BC, "particularly in the month of July. We reached Delos six days after departing from Aulis. On the 6th of July we set out from Aulis and reached Sciron with gale-force winds which made us turn back the next day, but on 8 July the journey to Delos was pleasant. Thus from me reached Cleon with a strong wind at our backs despite the fact that it was not contrary to our course. Then on to Syros and thence to Delos, covering the distance faster than we could have travelled. The open Aegean海, as you well know, are the most violent when there is a tempest. After all this, I shall be in no hurry to leave and shall not hafuse from Delos unless I can see the mountain tops of Theseus clearly." Even today, Aegean sailors and fishermen look closely at the Tektites *meteora* top on Tilos; if it can be seen clearly on the horizon it is "well-stocked", but if it is covered by clouds, they do not travel.

The island has no natural sources of water, but in the granite substrate, despite the many tectonic cracks in the terrain, there is a limited ground water horizon at a relatively shallow depth, which is significant for the island. From antiquity to modern times, the island's drinking water comes from the same well (Well) of

² The Hiatula's (Heraion) refer to the photographs, which are not suitable to make. The author's description of such (not the photographs) can be found in the Enclosure on page 161-162.



Mount Kynthos and a modern farmhouse on the south part of Delos. The picture was probably not much different in antiquity.

Chrypsia, Well of Malkebos) in the structures of the ancient houses. In antiquity, in addition to these private wells, there were many public wells and fountains and all houses had large cisterns below their foundations in which they collected rainwater from their roofs. It has been estimated, perhaps over-optimistically, that the public and private cisterns of Delos could contain 280,000 cubic metres of water, provided the rainfall was as heavy as that of February 2001, in which the reservoirs and cisterns were filled to overflowing for the first time in living memory. It seems that there was never enough water. In the early 5th cent. BC a slave living in the Lake House incised some lines on the wall of his little room, full of nostalgia for his homeland Antioch, "which has green trees and abundant water".

Rainwater in antiquity created the famous Iapetos River which flowed from the northeastern foothills of Kynthos, and its waters were channelled into an artificial reservoir, the Iapetos Fountain, from which, by means of extensive irrigation works, it was directed to the city and the port. The rainwater that collected in the lowest part of the island, north of the Sanctuary, formed the celebrated, round Sacred Lake, "the lake where water turns in a circle, older mellifluous streams hummer the Muses".

In the southern part of Delos, in neighbouring Rhenia and on Mykonos, there were farms that supplied the inhabitants of Delos with fresh vegetables – as is the case today. Many of these farms belonged to the Sanctuary and were rented to individuals. They had grapevines, green wheat and barley, raised goats, sheep, cattle and swine and kept bees. Inscriptions inform us that in the 2nd cent. BC on one of the approximately 25 farms on Mykonos there were 37 fig trees, 2239 grapevines, 25 mulberry trees, 2 myrtle trees, 50 apple trees, 1 palm tree, 1 laurel tree.¹ The small valleys and hills of Mykonos were covered by extensive vineyards; Mykonian wine was famous in antiquity and, for centuries, grapes were the symbol of Mykonos. The patron god of Mykonos was Dionysus who was portrayed on the coins of the city made and decorated with ivy. Two months of the Mykonian calendar, Iambata and Hestiaion, were named in his honour. Iambata (January – February) was the most important month in terms of the island's feasts. On the 10th of that month Demeter, Persephone and Zeus were honoured, while the 11th was dedicated to Semelé, the unfortunate mother of Dionysus. On the 12th of the month, possibly at Lene, where the official sanctuary of the ancient city was perhaps located, the Sanctuary of Dionysus Leneus, sacrifices were made to Dionysus Leneus. Zeus





Chameiros and Hera Chameiros is a festival exclusively for Mykoniots in which foreigners were not allowed to participate. This three-day festival of Leto was organised by the city's rulers and priests; the cost of the sacrifices and feasts was covered by public funds. In the month of Ianais, the new wine, the blessed gift of Dionysus, was tasted. Outside the city, in the still largely unknown rocky region of Heras (area of hills) was the rural temple to Dionysus Bacchae, which held a festival on the 10th of Bacchon (March - April). At that time, an unblemished goat was sacrificed, followed by a feast at public expense.

Until at least the 2nd cent. BC, there must have been on Delos farms and gardens with trees, that were gradually supplanted by public and private buildings. In the Hellenistic age there may only a few trees in the Sanctuary, east of the Monument of the Bulls, as all the surrounding area had become lots on which the wealthy merchants, shipowners and bankers who had settled on the island built their luxurious houses. In the densely populated Hellenistic city, there was no room for gardens or even for interior gardens in the atriums of houses, as in Pompeii. It is, however, likely that in the colonnaded areas (peristyles) that did not have mosaic floors, there were ornamental plants.

The climatic conditions and varied terrain (low hills, valleys, rocky land, sea-salt) create suitable habitats for the development of vegetation with different requirements. The cisterns of the ancient houses and the natural and artificial hollows that exist in many parts of the island are full of water until June or



July and provide favourable conditions for the growth of aquatic plants. What does not seem to have changed on the island from antiquity up to the present day is the presence of flora that make Delos a huge natural botanical museum with a large variety of plant life. In addition to being an important archaeological site, to date, 537 species have been recorded, many of which have medicinal properties and have been used from antiquity to modern times for healing purposes. Some plants that have survived in limited numbers and in specific places may possibly be descendants of species that were imported to the island in antiquity for the production of medicines or attars. Medicine was highly developed in the densely populated and wealthy city of ancient Delos.¹ Findings include medical instruments, vessels containing medicines made from plants, clay heating bottles used to induce hyperaemia for the relief of pain, statues of Asclepius, and votive offerings to Apollo, the Graces, Isis, Aphrodite, Demeter and the Hero Doctor for the cure of afflicted parts of the body. On the south side of the island is an *Asklepeion*; but there must have been other treatment centres on neighbouring Ikeria, in which Delians with more serious illnesses or women ready to give birth would be brought, as it was forbidden for anyone to give birth on the *island* Delos. Inscriptions found on Delos have preserved the names of many doctors, some of whom had studied at the renowned *Asklepeion* of Cos. The Delian doctor Antiphanes was the first to introduce the theory that illnesses were caused by diet.



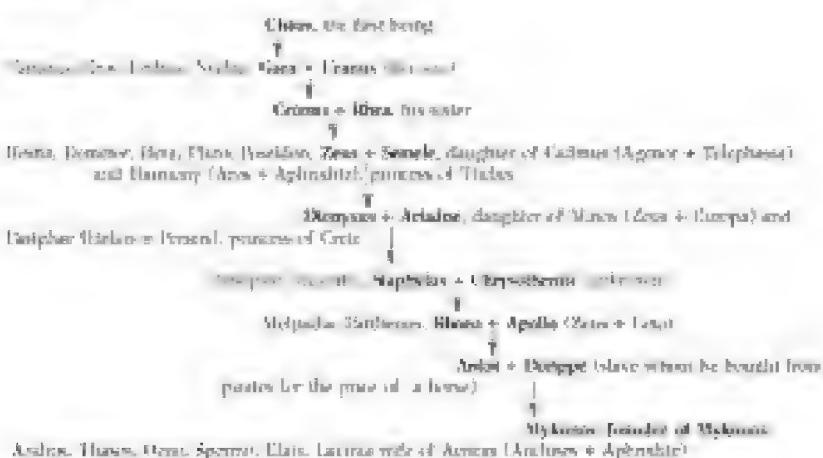
This *terracotta oil lamp* is typical of Delos.
It was made by the potter Chrysonous
of Delos.
Cretans, the local culture on the island, however,
was mainly influenced by the one of
Hellenic pottery, art,
and gods on Delos.

From Myth to History

The oldest

resiges of human presence on the island date to the 3rd millennium BC. Traces of a prehistoric settlement were found on the summit of Kythnos, a naturally fortified position from which people could easily monitor the small valley and the sea around it, in those troubled and insecure times. Myths indicate that Minyans settled on the island, but nothing has yet been found to document their presence. The Mycenaeans who came to the island in the late 15th cent. BC, having already established their sovereignty over the Aegean, felt safe enough to settle in the small valley by the sea. Aias, the mythical Mycenaean king of Iolkos, son of Apollo and great-grandson of Thesaurus, established relations with several neighbouring states in an effort to preserve neutrality in the conflicts of the age. He played host to the ruler of Troy, Anchises, and to the Achaeans and later to Aeneas, son of Anchises, who had managed to escape from burning Troy. During the Trojan campaign – the last expedition to unite the Greeks in a common struggle, ostensibly to avenge the honour of Menelaus and punish the violation of the principle of hospitality – the Achaeans anchored at Iolkos with their fleet and, committing the same crime in Iolkos as that of which they accused Paris, seized their host's three daughters. The three princesses of Iolkos, Sparno, Deina and Rhena, the Orestiades, had been given the gift by their grandfather Thesaurus of causing the earth to bear fruit without ploughing, so that their mere presence was a guarantee that the expeditionary force would have the necessary supplies (sheep, wine, olive oil). These three princesses may possibly have been pre-Hellenic divinities who were relegated to a position of secondary importance after the establishment of the patriarchal society and the coming of Apollo, who, together with Athena, was one of the most fanatic supporters of male authority.

Aias also had three sons: Thessos, founder of Thessos, Mylusus, founder of Mykone, and Andros, founder of Andros. In the genealogy of Aias there are hints of the origins of the Italians and their inter-relationships. Thus from whichever point of view one looks at history, Italians and their descendants the Mykoniots came down from gods and heroes and were children born of passion and illicit liaisons, not of conventional relationships.





Αθηναίος ή τηρηγεράτερος θνατός ἐκπενήθει· Ἀσπαλάθιν,
βόλλεται γένε τ' ἔστι Κύκλους ἀστέρων παντοπλίσαντος,
βόλλεται δι' ὃν οὐδενός το καὶ οὐδεμιας φέλασκαζες.
πολλοί τοι νηροί το καὶ θλοεις δενύμησαν,
πλούσιος δὲ σκοπισαν το φύλον καὶ πρίμονας δικροι
θεμηράδιον ἀρέσαν. ποσταγανού Η θεαδίς προμένοντες.
διάλει αἱ Διάλει θνατέστερος βόλλεταρπεσας θητορ.
ενθα τοι θλευγέτωνες θάνατος ἡγεμόνωνται
οὐδενίς πάντα πανθίσαν καὶ αἰδονές τελείσμανον,
οι δέ σε παρημορεῖ το καὶ ληστηθειαρ καὶ διασθή
μαραθμανον. τάρπειντον δισαν ο πάτεραντον θρησκευτον.
φρειτη κι ὄλτενάντον καὶ ἀγρίσιας ἀμαρτιανας οὐδει
δις τοιτέ πλευτερισει διτι θάνατος θελράπιον εἰν
πάντοτον γάρ καν θάνατον χόρεν, τέρψεται διθι θητον
διαλικρας τ' εἰσοράδιαν καθλιζάντων το γιανάκες
νήσες τ' θαλασσας ηδι οὐτεδια κατηματα πολλά.
πολές δέ τοδε μάχη θαλάττα, θανι ολέσσες οιποτοτ' ολείτα,
κανίσσαν θηγανισθεις Ήσιοντριθελτον θεράπευτον.
οι τ' ἔστι άρι πρώτων μέντος Απελλάδον θηνούσαν,
οιτετες Σ' αι Λητειαν το κατ Λητειαν θηγεαραν.
μαρητάμεναν θνάτροιν το παλαιστον ηδις γιαντασιν
θημαν θειάσιαναν, θέλομεν δέ φρειδι θηνούσαν.
πάντοτον Οι θειάρεπον φρονών καὶ κρητιθιθιστον
γηρασιδι' θημενον φραι δέ καν θηνάς θηματον
φιθηγρασιθ' θημον θημει θημοργερον θημάτη.

HOMER. ILLENT 10. Apoll., 7th cent. BC

And you, O lord Apollo, god of the silver bow, far-shooter, once walked on
crags Kythnos, and once wandered about the islands using the purple.
Many are your temples and walled groves, and all hills and towering
peaks of lofty mountains and rises flanking to the sea any years, Theseus, yet the
Dales that most delights your heart; for there the long robed Iovans gather in
your bower with their children and their wives, they delight in boeing and
dressing and song, and leave you when the gales begin so often as then hold
their gathering. A man should say that they were as deathless and ageless as gods,
were he to open up the human than met together. For he would see the grace
of them all, and would be pleased at heart to behold the men and well-graded
women, they will sing and great wealth. And there is this great wonder besides
— whose renown shall never perish — the girls of Delos, hand-maidens of the Far-
shooter; he when they have praised Apollo first, as well as Leto and Artemis who
delights in arrows, they sing, telling of wars and stories of past days, and alarm
the souls of men. Also they can imitate the tongues of all men and their clattering
speech; each would say that he himself were singing, so close to truth is their
sweet song."



The Sanctuary and its History

As early as the Mycenaean period, the history of the island coincides with the history of the Sanctuary that gradually developed on the little valley in the middle of the western shore. Much later, in the 3rd cent. BC, the centre of gravity moved to the bustling port and cosmopolitan city. That was where the decisions were made that determined the fate of the island, whereas the Sanctuary had been transformed into a historic landmark for visitors and a place where Hellenistic rulers flaunted their power and wealth.

The cult of Apollo was established on Delos at least as early as Homeric times. By about the 9th cent. BC, the island was already considered the birthplace of the God and his sanctuary had been built in the valley. In the *Odyssey*, when the beleaguered Odysseus saw the willowy Nausicaa, she reminded him of the young palm tree that he had since seen on Delos, next to Apollo's altar. The Homeric "Hymn to Apollo" (circa 500 BC) describes the gloriuous festivals of the Ionians, when they集ed in Delos with their wives and children in order to worship the god with hymns, dances, athletic and musical contests and to hear the Delian maidens chanting old hymns: "Imitating the sounds and rhythms of all peoples so well that no one of them could doubt that he himself was singing." It is possible that this ability was due to the fact that the chorus consisted of captives who taught hymns in their local idiom to the others. In Euripides' *Hecuba* the captured Trojan women wish: "O breeze, breeze of the sea, that weftst swift galleys, eaven's rousers, across the surging waves! where will you bear me, the sorrowful one? To whose house shall I be brought, to be his slave and chattel? to some Ruler in the Ilian land, or in Phthia, where men say Apollon, father of fairest creatures, makes fat and rich the soil? Or is an island home, sent as a vagary of misery by fate that sweeps the brine, leading a wretched existence in both? either the first-crested palm and the bay-tree put forth their sacred shrubs for dear Japetus, a memorial of his divine birth-pains?" and there with the ruins of Delos shall I leave the golden head-band and bone of Artemis, their goddess?"

According to tradition, Homer himself created the "Hymn to Apollo" standing beside the Kerylos, the ancient altar made by Apollo when he was just four years old from the left horns of the goats he had hunted on Kythnos. Icarus, enchanted with the hymn, incised the verses on a stele, which they placed in the temple of Artemis - Apollo did not yet have a temple, just an altar. This altar was built without mortar and was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World. "There for the first time did Apollo learn to lay foundations and by Phœbus' example people learnt to lay stones. For Apollo - the god of civilization, 'delights when cities are built and he himself lays the foundation'" (Callimachus). When Theseus was returning from Crete, he stopped at Delos and, together with the youthward maidens who accompanied him, danced the *grapevines* around the altar, a dance re-enacting their escape from the Labyrinth.

As early as the Archaic period, the Sanctuary of the twin gods Artemis and Apollo occupied a large area and was renowned and respected amongst all Ionians. It included temples, buildings and statues dedicated by the powerful cities of the time in an effort to take advantage of the god's prestige. North of the Sanctuary was the shrine to Leto, mother of the two gods, while in the foothills of Kythnos, some distance away, was the temple of her rival, Hera, who had become reconciled to these fruits, too, of her husband's illicit love.

Every year starting on the 7th of the month of Ionos (February-March), "when the sweet spring begins and the nightingale builds its nest", the Greek cities used to send formal delegations and gifts to celebrate the birth of the god. These festivals included a sacrifice, athletic games, contests by professional musicians, the boys' dance, the dance of the Delian maidens, and various other entertainments, and were particularly splendid as testified by the phoenit "you sleep as though you were sailing to Delos".

Naxos, and later Paros, tried to assert itself by taking advantage of some of the Sanctuary's glory. From the mid-7th cent. to the mid-6th cent. BC, most of the buildings and statues on Delos were dedicated by the Naxians (the Naxian, and the cities of the Naxians, the Sacred Way with the Lion Terrace, the colossal Kouros etc.); later, the island of Paros followed a similar policy. However, the city that ultimately prevailed was distant Athens, justifying her presence there with various myths. Between 540-529 BC, Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens, upon instruction from the Delphic oracle, conducted the first cullers or purification of Delos, removing the graves around the Sanctuary. Apollo was the god of light and death was darkness – thus the dead were a bane on such a holy site. "The one god is called Apollo and the other Hades; the one is Light and the other Darkness; the one is Phoebus [the sun] and the other is Echion [darkness]; the companions of the one are the Hours and Astronomers and the other is accompanied by Atreus [Methimna] and Sisyphus [Ephesus]. The one is Phoebus of the light and the other lord of the dark Night and of Sleep". The one is 'the god unaffected by mortals', and the other, as Pindar nicely states, 'was accused of being too kind on mortals'. Thus Euripides rightly said 'gold-haired' Apollo does not exceptation for the dead and dying. 'And before Euripides, Sophocles had commented that 'Apollo loves song and laughter over much violent pain, sickness and strife' (in *Thebaid*, 14).

During the reign of either Peisistratus or his sons, the Iron Temple of Apollo was built and housed a larger-than-life statue of the god, a work by Leotinus and Agelias. After Peisistratus' death, the Athenians seem to have temporarily abandoned their effort to gain control of this strategic point in the Aegean, and another tyrant, Polycrates of Samos, appeared on the scene. In about 500 BC, Polycrates, who gained the upper hand in the Aegean owing to his strong naval force, "having presented with his army, exerted his authority over the other islands, conquered Naxos and dedicated it to Apollo of Delos, attaching it to far as he could." (Thucydides)

Delos emerged unscathed from the tumult of the Persian Wars because the Persians had considered the island sacred and did not sack it, as they did the other islands in the Cyclades. Herodotus' narrates that Datis, the admiral of the Persian fleet, did not allow the ships to approach Delos, but pursued at Khios and from there sent a message to the "holy men", who had taken refuge on the mountains of Idaea, to return to Delos, because not only would he not harm them, but his Great King had also ordered him to respect this island where the two gods had been born, as well as its inhabitants. After having burnt incense worth 300 talents on the altar of the god, he left a gold-plated statue of Apollo to be rehanded to the temple at Delos in Icaria, whence it had been stolen, and then departed for Egypt.

In 478 BC, after the end of the Persian Wars, the Delian League of Greek cities was formed in order to deal with future threats. The headquarters of the League was on Delos, which was where the enormous sums contributed by the city-states were kept and where their representatives met. Very soon the Delian League evolved with an Athenian hegemony, and the cities became subjects of the Athenians. The funds from the common treasury were moved to the Acropolis in Athens in 454 BC, ostensibly for reasons of security; in reality, however, they were intended to finance Pericles' ambitious building programme.

In 429 BC the second temple of Apollo, the Great Temple, or Hellan. Temple was begun. Its construction was interrupted because the League's funds had been exiled to Athens. Building was restarted during the Period of Independence (1821-1830 AD), but the temple was never completed.

During the early years of the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians, confined within their city walls, were in desperate straits due to the plague that killed off many inhabitants ("like sheep", as Thucydides' writes). In 429 BC, Pericles died a saddened man, having buried even the son (son) to him by Aspasias; political life was then dominated by demagogues, ruthless professionals who profited from the war. A year later, in 428 BC Mytilene revolted and was punished harshly by the insecure Athenians: there is evidence of threatening moves on the part of Delos as well. It is estimated that in 427/6 BC the victims of the plague numbered 200,000. Thucydides reports that the Athenians had reached such a state of shamelessness that "neither fear of the gods nor the laws of man restrained them any longer, because they believed that it was not the gods who they regarded the divine or evil, seeing that all could equally dominate; and as for criminal behaviour, they did not expect to be caught, they were tried and punished, believing that the divine which had been injured got to suffer and not those keeping over their heads, was greater. Then, before their form collapsed, it seemed natural to try and enjoy life as best they could." In such an atmosphere of despair and necessity they committed a heinous crime, the "purification" of Delos, supposedly for reasons of purity. They opened up all the graves on the island, even the most recent ones, and moved the bones and funerary offerings to Kerameikos, where everything was buried in a common pit. At the same time, they decided that no one could be born or die on Delos, and that anyone close to

delivery and the sentence it should be transferred to Rhodes." From that time on, no one was sent, no one died, and no one was buried on the Ialy Island; and the inhabitants of Delos, as was the intention of the Athenians, were left without a homeland. So when the Delians later requested help from the Spartans, this fact enabled the latter, ever reluctant to venture far from Sparta, to claim that Delos could not be their homeland as they themselves had neither been born there, nor were their ancestors buried there.

We can imagine the despair and frustration of the Delians during those winter days, helplessly watching the slaves of the Athenians opening the graves of their loved ones and throwing the bones and funerary offerings onto boats in order to transport them across the water and dump them into the common grave. This pit, the "purification pit", was discovered and excavated by Dem. Stavropoulos* in 1898-1900. This exceptionally significant discovery is described in her own inimitable way by the Mykonian author Melina Axiou.**

"The rains are going to pour on Delos – which means that it's already darkening... A long-lived winged creature is the crow, and throughout its long life, this same journey through day and night is what it has to remember. But just once a year appears to distract the deserted hallows of Delos, the powerful eagle. Demetra-Slavopoulou, Epier of Astypalaea of the Cyclades toward the end of the last century, he used to read Thucydides, the ancient, and saw it written that the Athenians proclaimed Delos to be sacred

*Fig. 11. Delians sailing over the funerary ground in the Harbour Pit in 1898
Photograph by Dem. Stavropoulos. Courtesy of ZEP July Festival in about 1900 concerning ancient Delos' holiness*



*Fig. 12. Drawing from the Pausanias 10 showing men with their arms decorated during a sacrifice paid to Apollo
Drawing by George Vlachanis*



and not only torture, injury or tearing mortals on this land, but that they also dug up the graves in the year 474, searched the bones with whatever else was left, and took them away, to Megara, Delos, which was called Rheneia. And now, the same job was done again by Demetrios Stavropoulos to dig up Mykonos Delos to distract the soldiers back. Because then he had got to look for "the purification pit". What jewellery there has to be found, what trees, what vessels, in the tombs of that pit, plates and dishes and oil jugs, oil lamps, whatever things could be found in the households of the rich and the poor, their ornaments, which the living person wanted and wanted, they wanted to accompany them in the underworld. And all the small and large things were found in smithereens, a mountain of broken shards... But the laziest person will never call anything a broken pot, but rather calls it a "shank". And the other result of the "purification pit" discovered with the help of his great team, was that the taste of the Ephor, Demetrios Stavropoulos, has remained in history, the island acquired a great treasure, Greek enriched collections, humanity filled in some gaps in its knowledge of ancient civilisations and Georgios Polyzoidis, the tutor from Mykonos who stuck them all together, went blind after spending his whole life sharpening over these vessels, gluing them together."

Georgios Polyzoidis laboured to join together fragments of pots from 1898 until 1946, when he related. By 1931, from the mounds of thousands of fragments that used to arrive in baskets from Ilioupoli, he had managed to piece together and reconstruct some 2,500 vessels. In later years, virtually blind, he worked with the help of two magnifying glasses, one on top of the other, and until his death in 1965, continued to visit his beloved museum on an almost daily basis and to offer his valuable advice. His daughter Eleni later tells Maria Manesis: "My father was blind at 55 years old. Before he got blind he had diseases! And the doctor said to him that I think your heart - this placenta...". She also described how he made the acquaintance of Dr. Stavropoulos: "Father never knew his elder than Dr. and working as a gentleman's tailor. At that time, there were no hotels and the Sun, from my father's side, on the upper floor in the Castle was an inn. There Stavropoulos came as Ephor of Antiquities to Mykonos, young, around thirtyish to 35 years old. He used to sit my father in the balcony, Jozanis' mother used to send. So Stavropoulos came, still single, and stayed at this inn that my Sun had. Father had a friend and always attended to her, and Stavropoulos observed the lot. And he said to my Gena - me Isha, as we say in Mykonos: Miss Katerina, your son is an archeologist. Not a teacher, nor a gentleman's tailor, but the Nor: so in fact, what can I do? He was: If take him to the Museum to draw the vases and later... they truly took him on. And off the little bits he used to put together, there he'd look at their destruction and strengths and fit them in..."

The findings from the purification pit were hundreds of valuable vases of exceptional quality, but there were no objects of precious metal, except for a few leaves from gold wreaths. It seems that together with the purification, the graves were looted and plundered. None of the other cities reacted to this terrible act, which today would cause an international outcry, and none of the contemporary (Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Plutarch etc.) or later writers referred to it. Thucydides¹⁰ alone described the event in two sentences, without further commentary. A few years later these same people condemned six of the ten victorious generals of the naval battle of Arginusae to death because they showed disrespect for the dead and failed to collect the bodies of shipwreck victims for burial. This time the dead were their own.

In 490 BC the "barbarian" Persian admiral Datis requested and honoured the Delians as "bold men".¹¹ In 471 BC the Athenians considered them impure, unsuitable to serve the god, and completed the "purification" by exiling all of the local population.¹² The Delians took refuge at Astyonytum in Asia Minor, having been invited there by Pharnaces, but were betrayed and massacred by Arses. The few who survived were allowed to return to Delos after the intervention of the Oracle of Delphi.¹³

Immediately after the purification, and despite the fact that they were still at war, the Athenians, out of remorse or fear, began the exceedingly costly task of constructing yet another temple to Apollo, this time of white Pentelic marble, and established the Delia, or Delian Games a festival in honour of Apollo. The Delia, together with the Pythia, the other great festival in honour of the god, coincided with the third year of every Olympiad. This third temple, the Temple of the Athenians, was splendidly inaugurated during the Thespia or deputation in Delos, that was funded and led by the moderate Nicias, in 417 BC. The deputation was one of the obligations that wealthy Athenians had to shoulder, and entailed sending a delegation to travel to the Delian Games. The deputation travelled on the thirty-cored military vessel (*trikontauros*) that Theseus had used to sail to Crete, an ancient and sacred boat, which by means of careful repairs and maintenance, was in service until the early 4th cent. BC, according to Plutarch, or until the mid-2nd cent. BC, according to Callimachus.¹⁴ Until the sacred boat returned from Delos, public executions were forbidden, and it was for

This reason that the execution of Socrates¹⁰ was postponed in 399 BC. The wealthy Nicias dazzled the crowds gathered at Delos for the celebration with an impressively costumed arrival: "When he left his departure, he descended at Myrina with the staves, the sacrificial victims and the rest of his preparations, as well as with a bridge constructed in Athens of the costumes and that had previously been taken and immorally defiled with yellow, bright colours, garlands and curtains. That night he bridged the passage between Myrina and Delos, which is not great, and at first light he crossed the bridge, leading the procession and the chorus, which was furiously clapped and singing, towards the god."¹¹ This festival in 417 BC at Delos was one of the last joys that Nicias took part in. Four years later, in October of 413 BC, he was slaughtered by the Corinthians in Sicily during the disastrous expedition on which the Athenians had embarked, led by the handsome but callous Alcibiades and by their own treacherous arranger, Dercylides¹² lamentably forgetting the strict objectivity of the historian Demosthenes that "of all contemporary Greeks, Nicias was the one who had deserved such a fate".

After the death of Alexander the Great, the Aegean suffered almost fifty years of upheaval due to the wars between the ambitious generals who succeeded him. In 316 BC Antigonus declared Greece free and proclaimed a return to Alexander's policy of democratic governance. His fleet visited the Aegean where Lemnos, Imbros and Delos had already revolted against Athens and the Cyclades against Cassander. Even though Athens still retained the prestige of being the intellectual centre, it was a city of no strategic or geopolitical importance at that time and played no substantial role in developments. Antigonus and his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes (the "Besieger"), established the Commonwealth of the Islands, with Delos as its religious centre, when again Delos was declared free and independent 314-313 BC.

After the end of the 3rd cent. BC, the only significant construction activity on the site of the Sanctuary was the partial completion of the Temple of the Bellona and the building of a new temple to Artemis. During the Period of Independence, however, the rulers of the Hellenistic states vied with each other in constructing magnificient buildings on Delos, where all Greeks could gaze upon and marvel at the wealth and power of the cities that had built them. The kings of Pergamon built (mid-3rd cent. BC) a large stoa or portico on the east side of the Sacred Way that led from the Hellenistic port to the entrance of the Sanctuary. Across the Way an even larger portico was built at a later date (c. 210 BC) by Philip V, as attested by the inscription on the epistyle: ΠΗΓΑΜΒΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΟΙ ΔΟΣΙΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΓΑΙΟΥ. As was to be expected, the presence of the ruling Macedonians was strong at this pan-Hellenic sanctuary. Antigonus II Doum (Gonatas), Philip's grandfather had built another portico (c. 250 BC) which demarcated the northern boundary of the Sanctuary. Late in the 4th cent. BC, Philip's great-grandfather Demetrius I Poliorcetes built the Xanthos, a large building that housed a temple dedicated to Apollo.

The entire site of the Sanctuary was studded with hundreds of marble and bronze statues, costly votive offerings from cities or wealthy individuals; unfortunately, only their inscribed pedestals survive,

Gods and Mortals

As early as the 5th c. BC, Xenophanes of Colophon (570-500 BC) points out that "if mortals or horses or bulls had hands, they could paint and make statues, but even the horses could make their gods-like horses, even like ours, and would draw them faster and mould their bodies just like the bodies they each have themselves."¹ In this way it is noted that it is not God who creates mortals but, instead, man who creates God. "As for every creature and whatever exists, Heraclitus was similarly dimissive, writing: 'The world, which is the same for all, no god nor man did create, but always was and is and will be; ever-living for kindling in ourselves and being quenched in ourselves.'"² In the early 3rd c. BC, Euthemocles of Messene gave vent to the intense scepticism in vogue in those troubled times, further undermining what little remained of traditional faith. In his work *Four Olympian Odeons Inscription* he claimed to have seen an ancient inscription in a temple of Zeus referring to the origins and acts of the gods. According to this inscription, Zeus was a man who had been a distinguished king and conqueror, and when he died, his subjects, in gratitude, honoured him as a god. The same was true for Apollo, Aphrodite and all the other gods: they were mortals who had died centuries before and had been deified by the people. In reality, they had died as all mortals do, and created no more.

The gods who are worshipped in a place are a reflection of its inhabitants, revealing their needs, concerns and hopes. This is even more manifest in the case of the Greek gods, who were very close to human nature. Homer and the tragic poets depict the gods displaying their passions, while Aristophanes does not hesitate to bring them down onto the stage, to share a joke and laugh with them. Xenophanes' criticism of Homer and Hesiod for according to the gods all human faults such as stealing, promiscuity and deceit.

With the transition from a matriarchal to a patriarchal society, female deities were relegated to a position of secondary importance. Demeter became the wife of Zeus; and in Hesiod, Leto and Asteria simply became the mother and sister of Apollo. Uranus, Cronus and later Zeus swallowed the children of female deities in an attempt to replace them, even in reproducing life. Gaia reacts by castrating Uranus; her daughters would later do the same. This could be considered a kind of matriarchal original sin, and ever since then castration (whether real, psychological or symbolic) has been earth's eternal, unalterable fear, since the quintessence of masculinity is contained in the phallus.

It was the penumbral god Phœbus (Puer), generator and moving force of all, as well as the need to name things, that recast traumatic human memories into charming myths and became in the omnipotence of the gods. These gods, at least in Hesiodic times, were fashioned in such a way as to be held up as models, protectors and supporters of every governing authority seeking to prevail over furious revolutionary movements. The Olympian gods were the omnipotent gods of Order and Civilization who always tolerated anxiety and challenges to the status quo. Among the violent, uncivilized and anarchist beings in mythology who sometimes threatened the heavenly or earthly ruling class were the Cyclops, Hecatonchires, Titans, Giants, Centaurs, and the surrounding "barbarian peoples"; there, too, were women such as the Amazons, Amazonas and the women of Leucos, up to and including Andromeda and Clytemnestra. By threatening the Order instituted by state rule through similar acts of revolution and disorder, all of these committed hubris and were fiercely punished for it by Nemesis, who, although a woman, was directed by a man, Zeus.

Apollo, the pre-eminent advocate and supporter of patriarchy,³ appeared to rule the island up to the end, preserving the ideals and values that served the city-state and the aristocracy, but that were especially harsh on the common people. His dominion, undepicted in archaic and classical times, was visibly shaken in the Hellenistic period when, following the conquests of Alexander the Great, the narrow but secure boundaries of cities were abolished, long voyages became possible for many more people, human horizons were broad-

eried, and standards, values and ideals were subject to change. The impersonal regimen of the city that demanded uniform behaviour from everybody and banefully persecuted anyone who stood out, whether for good or bad, began to give way to the ideals of individual success and happiness and people felt free to follow the desires of their hearts and their passions. The gods who corresponded most to the demands of those times were Aphrodite, Dionysus, Heracles and the Eastern gods who came to Delos with the new inhabitants and soon acquired splendid sanctuaries.

The ancient Greeks were never imbued with the fanaticism or intolerance towards other religions that came with the later, monotheistic religions. They were always willing to accept that the neighbour's god was also a god, perhaps even one of their own under a different name, "just as the sun and the moon and the earth and the earth and the sea are common to all, but are called by different names by different peoples."²² Apollo, after some initial misgivings, was forced to share his native land with Sappho, Iris, Hesychates and Atredis, with the God of Israel and the gods of the Arab nations, with Atargatis and Hadad, with the gods of Ascalon and Samaria and all the other gods who accompanied the new inhabitants.

God	Altar																	
Aphrodite	409	378	5	1	-	-	-	55	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ares	111	37	1	3	-	-	-	62	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Demeter	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dionysus	121	38	9	9	3	-	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
Demeter	23	11	2	3	3	3	3	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Sacred Names	43	9	5	13	-	-	1	8	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mars	18	1	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Natura	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Atargatis	16	8	5	21	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
see Dio. Dio.	16	16	5	9	-	-	-	16	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Athena	11	10	2	1	-	-	-	11	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cybele	15	11	-	71	-	-	-	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hestia	39	-	-	3	-	-	-	39	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Zeus	25	10	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Artemis	20	3	1	3	-	6	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Demeter	17	5	-	6	-	1	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Urgupatis	16	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mercur	13	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chrysaor	10	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leto	10	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nike	9	3	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Minerva	6	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Penelias	8	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-
Minerva Uva-	6	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pallas	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zeus	5	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nymphai	5	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Mer.	5	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zeus	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agave	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Triton	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Phoebe	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thetis	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Earth	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table showing the distribution of the 200 altars, etc.

By counting how often each god is referred to or depicted in Hellenistic Delos, we can see who were the most popular and thereby gain insight into the preferences, needs, worries, fears and generally the psychology of the inhabitants of Delos during the late Hellenistic period. The most popular, with a percentage of 29.7, is living Aphrodite, goddess of "eternal sensuality". Heraclitus comes second although with a significant difference (approximately 10.5%). By always obeying the wishes of Zeus, he lived a difficult life full of trials and troubles, but gained immortality. The qualities he personified paved the way for the Christian religion, especially the idea of a reward in heaven. Dionysus and his many hand signs the Delians' love for entertainment, while the strong presence of Iris reveals the need for safety and hope. Apollo, "the far-shooter, the all-armed, long-dressed, golden-haired" had already fallen to ninth place (with a percentage of only 2.1) as he was somehow too perfect, cold and cerebral and could no longer reassure people or assuage their fears. The fact that the majority of gods were female (30.3%) and that Artemis was in fourth place shows that the social position of women had improved. This is further borne out by dedicatory inscriptions.

The uncertainty that people felt in those days drove them to seek help not only from the gods but also from the powers of darkness, chiefly in matters of magic or of the heart, as is the case today. The Jews - like us has the oldest synagogue of the Diaspora - sought the help of Almighty God and of the angels to exact revenge on whoever persecuted Herodias and Martha:¹¹ "Create and implore the almighty God, the head of spirits and all flesh, against those who foolishly murdered or persecuted long-suffering Herodias before her time, shedding her innocent blood unrightly, but those who murdered or persecuted her and their children be punished in the same way..." Others, however, believing that the gods listen only to prayers which stem from fair and pure desires, resorted to white or black magic, the use of which had taken on increasing dimensions as early as the time of Plato: "Christian priests and fortune tellers go chiefly to the forces of the night and cure them that they force the god of the sun to wash away their sins or the sins of their ancestors with inundations and purges. They even maintain that they can, for a small fee, harm the enemies of their clients with evil and curse, whether [this] that because they say they can force the gods to obey them."¹² The inhabitants of Hellenistic Delos frequently worshipped in such parts. T. Pausanias inscribed the names of his adversaries on a sheet of lead and attached it to a grave on Delos with five bronze nails, obviously on the grave of someone taken young, someone taken before his time, whose uneasy spirit still wandered this earth. This tablet contained more than 20 names including many members from the Pausanias family, several other Romans and Greeks and the Athenian governor of Delos, Serapion. Another person, a woman this time, recited a terrible curse against the person who stoned her snake bracelet and dropped the sheet of lead down the well of the neighbourhood in which she suspected the thief lived: "Supreme Sylvanus gods, lady goddess Syria, Syrene, revenge me and punish those who have...but, who ever stole my snake bracelet, I curse those who have it and I curse those who were accomplices; I curse the bracelet, the sand and the waters of the person who stole the bracelet and of those who train and of those who captured it; I curse the genitalia and hands of the person who took the bracelet; I curse him from his head to the bottom of his feet, both the right and left; who have, whether a man or a woman."¹³ In rituals of sympathetic magic, broken figurines of men, bound hand and foot, were used to "bind" named lovers. With magic chants and potions, while turning bad wheels in the moonlight they would attempt to bring back a wayward lover.¹⁴

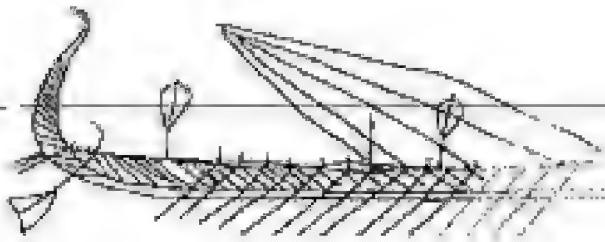
*Where are the laurels, Thesyleis? Bring me the phallus
Wear a red woolen cloth over the cap
so that I may bind the man who steals me...
Put a magic tablet and bring him to me
Thesyleis has set me aside and I burn laurel for him
And pull at the strands and quench night
And suddenly burn, driving into what's behind
So must Thesyleis' body melt away with passion
Form, O magic tablet and bring him to me...*

It is typical of these times that Simita, an interpreter of dreams, makes so much money from her occupation that she is able to contribute large sums to the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods. Everybody is afraid of envy and the evil eye, which is why amulets are worn in the shape of a phallus or a fist with the thumb clenched between the index and the middle finger. People draw protective divinities on the outside walls of their houses to keep evil away, mainly Heracles Alekakos (= who wards off evil), and deterrent symbols such as the eyes of the Horus, Horus' eye, a representation of the moon, or the all-powerful phallus. The power of the phallus over the evil eye is displayed in a relief from the House of Ioupos¹⁵ where the figure of a lion-shaped phallus strikes an open eye with its phallus. In their workshops and in their houses,

Dolians also placed *papukionai*,¹¹ strange figurines of males sitting with their legs open exhibiting their enormous phalluses. Their stance was similar to the usual stance of the Egyptian god Bes or Besa, a good-beastish, pot-bellied chap who averted evil influences, neutralised sorcery, brought good cheer and soothed anxieties. He was often depicted on amulets joining his powers with those of other gods in combat mode. Vases in such shapes were placed on the table – Aristotle writes that magic can be worked even on food – or hung in a conspicuous spot to protect the inhabitants of the house. Their unusual, grotesque appearance drew visitors' attention mitigating the effects of the evil eye and by displaying their genitals they also combated envy. Ithyphallic horns (squared pillars with a male head at the top and an erect male organ half way up) were placed in the atriums of houses, at crossroads, and on out-of-the-way streets and squares to protect passersby from evil spirits and bad intentions. The point at which these roads met was considered the realm of the terrible Hecate, chief goddess of witches, and such places were carefully avoided by everybody at night. A successful (if the money she left behind is any indication) prostitute was so frightened of envy that she wore all the amulets together on one bracelet: the phallus, Hercules' club, three-faced Hecate, the hand, Harpebrates, a horn, an axe and a hammer.



The Ports



The Period of Independence

came to an end when the Macedonians were defeated by the Romans at Pydna in 168 BC. In 168 BC, the Romans granted Delos to the Athenians who once again ruled the island – this time permanently – and installed their own settlers on the island. The Romans, who were thereafter to regulate the fate of the Mediterranean, proclaimed Delos a free port aiming thus to precipitate the financial ruin of the rival Rhodians. The fact that Delos was exempted from tax (*teleia*) by the Romans, as well as its exceptionally favourable geographical location and the destruction in 140 BC of Corinth, hitherto an important commercial centre, resulted in Delos becoming the hub of the transit trade between East and West. North and South, Delian business was economically ruined, as revenues from her port dropped from one million to 150,000 drachmas,²² while Delos soon became the maximum proportion today's *ekphrasis* (Festos), the greatest commercial centre in the world. "Notwithstanding the fact that Delos was less glorious", writes Strober²³ at the end of the 1st cent. BC, "the last destination of Corinth by the Romans made it even more glorious. Importers moved their businesses to Delos because the Sanctuary provided security and because the port was in a good position for people travelling from Italy and Greece to Asia. The first of the god is a sort of annual festival and the Romans, more than other people, frequented the island even before the destruction of Corinth. When the Athenians got the island they looked after both the religious functions of the Sanctuary and the importers."

A natural by-product of the island's growing wealth was the sharp increase in population and intense construction activity. The city grew larger, new districts sprang up and many private residences and public buildings were constructed.

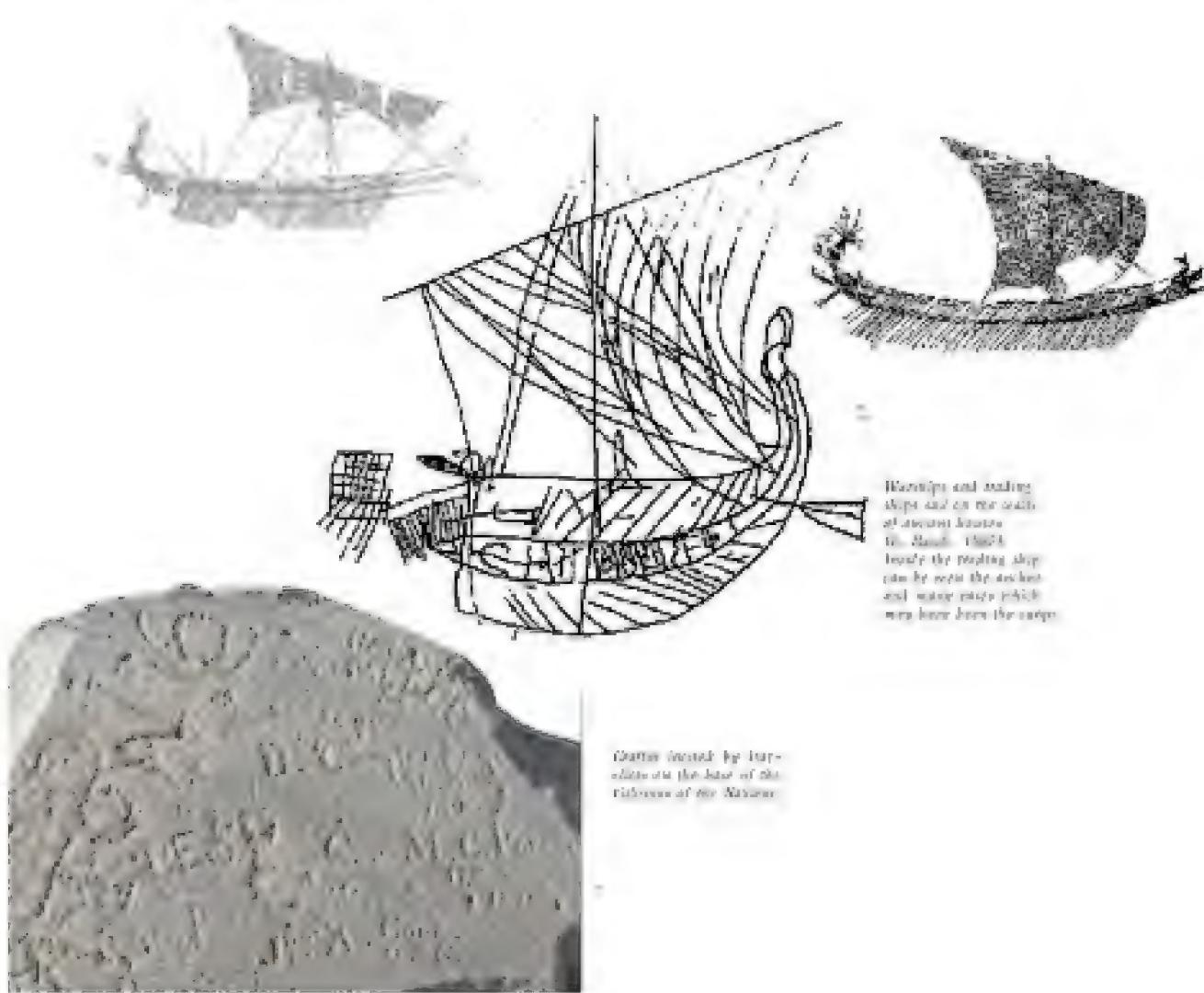
The archaic port in the northwest of the island was small and could no longer serve the increased commercial activity, so the necessary new harbour installations were gradually built on the more favourable western part of the island.²⁴ While in previous centuries the city was an offshoot of the Sanctuary, beneath the city and the Sanctuary were to become subordinate in the port. In addition to the Sacred Port, there were four other commercial ports for the large merchant vessels of the time. It has been estimated that 150 merchant (merchant ships with a 250-ton capacity) and 100 smaller passenger and fishing vessels could anchor simultaneously in these harbours (which were approximately 1500 m. long). On the noisy wharves where the light, airy Greek tunics oscillated mixed with the colorful, exotic apparel of foreigners, ships from all over the Mediterranean were constantly loading and unloading tons of merchandise and thousands of slaves. "Delos", writes Strober²⁵ at the end of the 1st century BC, "in one day could import and export tonnage of thousands of slaves; that is why there was a saying 'import and export to the port, useful and all is sold'. The reason for this is that the Athenians, who were rich following the destruction of Corinth and Carthage, needed many servants."

The enduring inclination of the island's inhabitants, the majority of whom were employed in the maritime trade, is evident in both the Sanctuary and the city. Marine motifs were very popular: marble bases were frequently decorated with anchors, tridents and Tritons; children played with brass and anchors and drank from bottles shaped like fish or dolphins and the nights were lit by ship-shaped lamps.

Dolphins were often depicted on mosaic floors, on jewellery, on marble cornice bases of a group of statues with a bench in front in the Sanctuary and on statues of Aphrodite. Since ancient times, Aegean fishermen and sailors have been familiar with these charming mammals who appear when the sky is clear and the sea is calm, and follow ships, cavorting and playing on the surface of the sea. Because these friendly companions of lonely sea voyages usually appeared after the storms of the spring solstice, which was when

sea voyages would begin again after the winter. They were associated with Apollo-Delphin (Delphinios), the god who could pass through the dark of storms, dissolve black clouds and calm stormy seas. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, the god himself, transformed into a dolphin, led Cretan sailors to Crete and to Delphi to become his first priests there. The *Delphiniac*, a festival in honour of Delphinios Apollo, protector of sailors, was celebrated on 6 March/April; this was the official start of sea voyages. As the harbingers of good weather, dolphins were symbols and companions of the maritime deities (Poseidon, Amphitrite, Nereids) and protectors and helpers of sailors. In mythology and in the modern folk tradition, dolphins have been associated with the miraculous rescue of shipwrecked sailors (Teleclusus, Arion, Phalaris, Coeranus) and with ferrying the bodies of the dead back to land for burial (Melechites, Hesiod).

Hundreds of pictures of ships were found incised on the walls of ancient houses, fishing boats, warships, and merchant vessels are depicted showing their rigging and equipment in great detail, making these walls a unique illustrated encyclopedia of the ships that sailed the Mediterranean in the 1st century n.c.¹ Many of these drawings were made by sailors passing through after the destruction of Helles. The custom was continued in later years, possibly in the belief that the image of a ship on the holly island would put that ship under the protection of the god – similar to the modern custom of hanging silver talismans under icons. Many ships and the names of sailors have been inscribed on marble in the Sanctuary, while carved on the base of the Colossus of the Sun can be seen some of the earliest evidence of the presence of the American fleet in the Aegean: Captain M. C. Perry, U.S.N., 1826.



Maritime and trading ships and on the walls of ancient houses in Rhodes, Greek towns like the port city of Mytilene which were built down the steep

Detail from the base of the Colossus of the Sun

The City

In fertile

southern Rhodes (*Ambelos*) an ancient city was discovered that had been abandoned in the 5th century BC when part of the hill on which it was built broke away and tumbled into the sea. It is possible that at the period when Ulysses still retained its exclusively sacred character, this may have been the original city where people lived who were not directly involved in the operation of the Sanctuary. It seems that following this disaster, some people settled on Delos. By the end of the 5th century BC, in addition to the priests and servants who were required to run the enormous Sanctuary, there were also many other inhabitants on the island. Ancient inscriptions indicate that the Sanctuary housed many houses which were rented to people. The few surviving place names indicate that these houses were located in the region of the Ierapetra River, near the Hippodrome, but chiefly near the port as trade had begun to flourish on the island. Indicative of the number of residents on the island is the fact that by the beginning of the 3rd century, when the theatre was still dominated by men (playwrights, sponsors, actors and audiences were all male), a theatre with a seating capacity of 6,000 persons was built.¹¹

The city seen by the modern visitor spread over the slopes of the six low hills surrounding the small valley of the Sanctuary within a few decades after 160 BC, when the *ateletai* was declared. The result of this rapid growth was a haphazardly built city with no town plan and no regular street layout. This is especially evident in the Theatre Quarter, the oldest quarter of the city, inhabited mainly by the descendants of the Athenian landholders who had settled on Delos; they were small landowners who constituted a sort of gentry which was desperately trying to exist alongside the financial oligarchy that ran the island. They engaged in agriculture, while cultivating grain and vines on their land and keeping boys, cattle and swine. Their homes are well-organised manors with wine presses to crush grapes and cellars and storerooms with large clay jars for storing must and cereals.

The Theatre Quarter was the most expensive neighbourhood in the city which is why all those who succeeded in having a house there tried to take maximum advantage of their land, and as a result, there is great variety in the ground plan of houses, and the streets are narrow and irregular. Wealthy and average houses are side-by-side, with no class distinctions. In many cases, two small houses were joined together to better serve the needs of new owners. This is what a certain Cleopatra did, adding a luxurious marble peristyle to a court that was too small for such a structure. But, the *polisphantes*' houses had such peristyles and obviously Cleopatra thought it *de rigueur* for her family's social standing.

In front of the houses, connected to the main building by a door, there are small shops in which slaves would sell their master's products. When shops were filled to a merchant, the connecting doors were sealed off. Tall houses did not allow the sun to penetrate through to the facade. 11.50 m. width irregular streets, which must therefore have been dark, damp and full of mud during the winter. With its lack of planning and crooked, sunless lanes, the Theatre Quarter resembled a medieval town.

In the newer quarter of Skandarion, inhabited mainly by well-to-do Italians and foreign craftsmen, it is evident that there were attempts to follow a city plan and build on city blocks, but it was not always adhered to. The streets in this region are much wider (3.50-4 metres) but gradual encroachments kept being made in order to enlarge the houses and create new shops. The shops built to the end of the House of the Diadumene and the Establishment of the Poseidonists decreased the width of the avenue leading from the port of Skandarion to the Sanctuary by 3 metres and the owners of the Late House similarly appropriated 3 metres of the public road, narrowing it from 4.50 to 1.50 metres. In every unexploited neck and cranny in the already densely populated city centre, new little shops, craftsmen's workshops and houses kept springing

ing up. It is obvious that the wealthy new residents did not see Delos as their homeland but as a temporary seat for their professional activities.

However, the city had a complete drainage system: each house's drains were connected to the main network that ran along all the streets. Wastes were dumped into the sea.

Owing to the contour of the terrain, the narrow, stone-paved streets of the Theatre Quarter and the dirt roads in the other districts were all fairly steep, and steps had to be built in some places. Naturally, carts and carriages could not use these roads and neither could pack animals because there were shops on either side of the street with heavy pedestrian traffic throughout the day. So the transport of heavy items and the re-stocking of shops probably took place between sunup and down.

None of the shops in the city have a latrine, nor are there any public latrines in the four large markets or within the Sanctuary. There were few women to be seen in these areas, and the men who frequented them had few inhibitions, as the behaviour of Kleopetas and Phidippides in the comedies of Aristophanes indicates. Typically, the site on which the first Stoapleon was built is described as "a place full of farts", while in the financial reports of the Sanctuary, reference is made to sums of money allocated for cleaning and the removal of farts.¹¹ It seems that there were no other provisions made for cleaning the city or for dealing with refuse. One street north of the Avenue of the Lions, which was excavated in recent years, was found to be full of heaps of rubbish (remains of food, broken vessels, useless tools) and it seems that streets and public spaces generally were in a similar condition. At the Minnai Fountain, as early as the 4th century BC, there was an inscription forbidding washing, bathing or throwing rubbish into the water. Another inscription from 281 BC, which still stands in its original place, prohibits the throwing of ashes or dung near the shrine of Leto and the Temple of Dionysos, while a third inscription stipulates strict fines for anyone allowing pigs and other animals to graze in the Sanctuary.¹² Such prohibitions would have been meaningless if pilgrims, transit merchants and inhabitants had respected the city's public spaces.

Compared to other coincompetitive cities and particularly to Alexandria, "which is crossed by wide avenues so that horses and carts can pass; instead there are two streets which have a width of over thirty metres",¹³ Delos was little more than a small, haphazardly built, dirty commercial city. The only thing that made it different was the existence of the ancient Sanctuary and the myths surrounding it.



The Inhabitants

The Athenians

The Athenians who settled on Delos were poor landless peasants or day labourers and apprentices with no particular objection who agreed to live on this isolated island because they had no better alternative. According to Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, most Delians were cooks and waiters who gave up serving the pilgrims: "Some of them to this day are named *Delioi* because they took their meals at the temples of the Delian deities - *pigoi*. Aretai *Delioi* = Delphic. Adelaidai *Delioi* = to prepare or flavour food." Some however, interestingly, became priests - *Delioi Nomi* - though originally and historically Delian, some became *Delioi* named *Hypocritaikoi houtoi* because of their oral skill and others *Delioi Kynopteroi* because their lives of public sycophancy were passed underneath the tables."

The multitude of sacrifices and the sympaia that followed them made Delos the ideal place for hangers-on [παρεπίδητες]. According to Cratin 42^o (ανθ. 107) the Delians themselves were called the "god's parasites": "As the past I imagined a rich and racy Athenian captain to weigh anchor and put his boats to sea, as I intended to go from Piraeus to Delos, because everyone kept telling me that this place had three necessary prerequisites for a hangar-on: that no other place had a market where you can feel anything you want, crowds of people from all over, and the pleasure of being the last to get up and leave [τέλος τοῦ θέατρου]".

Gradually, merchants from other places settled on the island, and when, as a result of the strike, Delos became the hub of the eastern Mediterranean transit trade, a host of architects, contractors, builders, engineers, craftsmen and labourers flocked to the island to serve the wealthy merchants, bankers and shipowners. It is estimated that in 20 ce, this little island, a mere dot on the map of the Mediterranean, was home to some 30,000 people. In addition to the permanent residents, there were always many merchants and sailors passing through and a large number of visitors during the festivals. Embassies, universities, actors, musicians, teachers, artists and merchants sought work on the island continuously, bringing their specialised skills and knowledge and the latest trends in art and fashion, all of which were amply followed by the wealthy residents. Many stayed with friends, while merchants in transit stayed at their club houses. The rest could find accommodation in the large hotel adjacent to the theatre, or in a cheaper inn below the stadium, which had benches on which customers could either lay out their bedding or sleep wrapped in their cloaks. On the ground floor were a dining hall and latrines, possibly stables for animals and a few small rooms which housed all those who could afford to pay a bit extra for some privacy. There were more private lodgings up the upper tier overlooking the inner courtyard.

The vocabulary interspersed in the inscriptions and the names listed on the grave steles on Iberian tombs that apart from the Iberians and Celts, who constituted the majority of the population, people also lived in Iberia who originated from the Aegean area, Central and western Greece, Macedonia, the Argive Islands, Thrace and the Black Sea, the Tauric Chersonese, Thessaly, Mysia, Achaea, Ionia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Illyria, Paphlagonia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Misidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria, Media, Cyprus, Egypt, Cyrene and Nubia.

Despite their varying origins, all these people coexist peacefully. They adopt the Greek way of life, they speak and write in Greek, live in Greek-style houses, and build temples where they worship their own gods without fear of intolerance; they work and entertain themselves together. Their children attend the same gymnasium, they play and exercise together in the same palestraes. The list of young people graduating from the *Palaestra of Stasies*—an expensive private school similar to modern English public schools where the children of wealthy families had the opportunity to develop useful social contacts—in 120-125 CE gives an idea of the composition of the population of Delos. The youths who officially came of age in that year were:

Basan son of Apollodoros from Myrrhinous (Athens), Philomen son of Philomen from Milos, Alypos son of Apollonius Angelithos (Athens), Makarios son of Leontios from Rhene, Gaios son of Gaios from Rhene, Protagoras son of Protagoras from Pharsala (Athens), Pelemon son of Diomede from Alexandria, Gaios son of Andros from Raone, Hesiodos son of Dexilius from Andros, Leucias son of Leontios from Raone, Harmonia son of Euphratios from Sidon, Leon son of Leon from Aigiale, Theophilos son of Theophilus from Corfu, Herodes son of Philikemos from Thasos, Gaios son of Gaios from Raone, Diomedes son of Diomedes from Antioch, and Antideus son of Antiphonus from Laodicea.

Thus, perhaps for the first time in history, people from almost all the lands of the Mediterranean co-existed peacefully on this little Aegean island. In the ports and on the streets many different languages could be heard. In the markets goods could be purchased from the remotest corners of the world and many different currencies were in use. The ships constantly arriving at the Delos port brought not only goods to be traded, but also people and ideas and news from most coastal cities, so that the whole world seemed like a small neighbourhood around the Mediterranean.

With such a cosmopolitan ambience, life in the city was intense and full of opportunities for business transactions and financial agreements, but also for all manner of entertainments. Sing and dance never stopped on Delos: "the surrounding islands could boast if they were a dances' circle", Callimachus chases, "curly-haired Hippotes never loses your trim and quiet, but always dances. The boy sing and the young girls dancing just before the time of the nysion." In addition to the Sanctuary sites, a visitor could choose in the market, jostle with the crowds in the port, attend athletic events or go to the theatre. Anyone not invited to a symposium at a friend's house could eat at the inn or buy food from street vendors or from makeshift outdoor cookhouses. A visitor could also go to the baths or one of the brothels or spend time slowly sipping a drink, talking and playing dice at a tavern.

The realistic portraits found in some houses show a number of faces from those times. The few "portraits" of Greeks still depict idealised faces displaying a pervasive serious-melancholy. Rich Roman freedmen, Levantine and African merchants posed unsmiling, serious and aloof, but the Roman gravers that they are trying to simulate sit like a mask on their, a mask worn for so long that it can no longer be removed – it has become one with the face beneath. Their pinched and anxious expression recall Flavio's taciturn "Prince from Western Libya" visage.

He was a poor soul, to be true, At the service of others
An ordinary, forgettable man.
He had a Greek name, derived like the Greeks,
Learned to speak Greek or less we Greeks do;
and he quaked in his boots lest
By some his passable impression
Be spoiling Greek with crude gestures...
Which was why he fenced himself so few friends,
Taking especial care over his deceptions and his accent;
and he was not a little bored, hardly
as good as nothing, and destined to make his

Strange or deformed human types are portrayed with the same realism in terracotta figurines. These works by minor artists and craftsmen of no particular repute reveal – in the manner of a modern photo-reporter – the average man on the street, the masses of have-nots and the odd-looking people wandering through the city, Ethiopians, hunchbacked dwarves, dancers, drunk old ladies, lepers, street performers and vendors, beggars, priests, exhausted slaves who have dropped off to sleep, and people of vastly different ethnic origin give a vivid picture of the real population of the city, which was of course not populated solely by patrician, well-heeled law-abiders.

In statues, wall paintings and figurines, women are portrayed as particularly elegant, aloof, poised, dignified, and almost always in the same stance – one which emphasises the torso and breasts. In contrast to classical art in which young maidens with adolescent breasts are preferred, in the Hellenistic period there is a clear preference for well-developed, femininely bodies. The ideal female body can be seen in the male statue of Aphrodite; full curves, small breasts and shapely derriere – the part of the female and the male statue

my which, as the literature and the sculpture of the time attest, was the focal point of asceticism. Athletic Achaeans might be portrayed dressed in a short chiton and Aphrodite nude; mortal women, however, are covered from head to foot in long chitons and stola that leave nothing exposed to the eye of the viewer. For girls of good families at least, there was obviously a strict code governing both behavior and appearance. However, the draped chitons and the few transparent tunics are worn in such a way as to highlight and emphasize the curves of the body.

Constitutions, initially used only by helotistic burghers, were now used by women of all social classes. After all, even goddesses use cosmetics. Muses Hera, a married lady and mother of four children, does not hesitate to use Aphrodite's arts in order to attract Zeus' attention. In fact she went into a towering rage when her daughter Anglos stole her face cream and gave it to Europa, Zeus' mistress. The pedantically conservative Xenophon condemns these cunning practices by women. In *Oeconomicus*, when the thirty-year-old Isocritus tells that his fifteen-year-old wife has "unearth fire for with a lot of prangitis so that she would look whitish and used rouge at both sides and paint high shoes to both sides", he states in a critical attitude: "Tell me, wife, what you could think if I pretended I was another man I am, and if I forced you to do away your painted ones, off of mudish necklets, and faded purple garments, and tell you that all these sort stuff". Aristophanes and the comic poets, satirizing women's efforts to look more beautiful, thus provide information about their daily habits; however, one should bear in mind that all the information we have about women in antiquity is provided by men. Lucian, who seems quite familiar with the process, describes a lady's morning toilette: "If someone were to set a mirror in the morning when she wakes up, he would think her uglier than a mule. That is when women shut themselves up in their rooms and allow no man to see them. They are surrounded by old bags and a host of servants as ugly as themselves who dash their horrid faces with various potions... each strain holds something different, silver jugs, copper, tin cans, many little bags which are reminiscent of a pharmacy, vessels full of jellied things to whiten their teeth and darken their lashes. But most hours of all are devoted to their coiffure. Some of them, mixing various oil substances on their hair that turn it red and/or midday sun, others dye it blonde. Those of them, on the other hand, who are happy with their black hair, spend their husbands' fortunes on wigs so that their hair is reddish of all the perfumes of Asia. We see metal instruments bent on a low fire, they fasten their hair to card and make complicated coiffures which quasi distract their husbands, holding their foreheads, while the back cards are free to blow down their backs. Colossal wigs follow so much that the straps dig into their necks and then give them down - which appears the greater their nakedness. But all is cushioned through the sheer fabric, even better than their faces, except for their plump breasts which they strap up tightly like prisoners. And need I refer to the most expensive of rags? We know from the Red Sea that cost a fortune and hang heavily from their ears, the snake-shaped golden bracelets on their wrists and arms. On their heads they wear chaplets studded with precious stones from India, on their necks hang expensive necklaces, gold hangers down to their waist and bracelets around every part of their ankles and yet undressed. Then, informed of their body shapes with false beauty, they apply rouge to their cheeks to highlight their pale skin..."

As testified by the archaeological findings and iconography, the elegant and vain women of Delos did all of the above. Utterly, many cosmetic beauty instruments and much jewellery have been found. Their hair is impeccably styled in elaborate styles held with ribbons and diadems – but always exactly off the face, at the back or on top of the head, never left loose like the fashions of Archaic times.

It seems that although modesty required some limits on women, this was not the case for men. The Greeks, studying the human body, believed that the athletic nudity of their men, the mark of a higher civilization, differentiated them from the "barbarians", who covered their bodies with colored robes and anagnides (trouser-like hose). Following the example of the gods, young men do not hesitate to display their well-muscled bodies and their assets, which are much in evidence as they do not wear underclothes. They wear short cloths and a himation thrown over their shoulders, or simply a himation, which older men use to cover their bodies with dignity. Older and younger men alike are portrayed shaven, with short hair and harmoniously exercised bodies. Statues of Hercules demonstrate the ideal male form, whose affection for the tender Indian boys who are castrated in the poems of the time, and again centuries later in the poetry of Catullus, is apparent in the statues of Apollon and Dionysos. Homosexuality however has lost its aristocratic moral glorification and is simply a personal sexual choice. The youths who inspire such passions are no longer the virtuous, pure youths of the Platonic dialogues. Thus, languid and bittersweet, is worshipped in the *gymnasion* alongside muscular Hercules and the ideally beautiful Heracles. The marble benches of the Gymnasium – like today's wooden ones – are full of teenagers' incised graffiti declaring their friendships and crushes (among the dozens of names written, only one is a female name, Calliste).



Chrysanthemum, genus of a composite plant, family Compositae, including the garden chrysanthemum.

Throughout the entire city, on the streets and in houses, a diffuse eroticism is prevalent in a strongly playful mood. The relief phalluses found on the walls of homes are not always deterrents of evil or symbols of fertility, but are sometimes depicted as instruments of punishment and torture. This is also clear from the fact that it is not the small elegant phalluses of Greek statuary that are favored, but large, "barbaric" phalluses that have been elongated, a practice which the Greeks abhorred and never adopted. These images do not provide a promise of enjoyment but constitute a not too subtle threat of torment and humiliation. Often the phallus is combined with a club, making it even clearer what a would-be invader would suffer: a message surviving in stereotyped modern Greek verbal threats. In the Sanctuary there are huge erect phalluses, veiled offerings to Dionysos. In a lighter vein are the relief phalluses decorating the walls of houses and bearing the inscription: "ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ" which gives them a totally different meaning. On another relief a naked male pinches his buttocks with his hand from the incursion of a廷aged phallus aiming at precisely that part of his anatomy. Another relief depicts a male figure with two phalluses, holding up a winged phallus. Many lamps and wine cups are decorated with erotic scenes: a nude Aphrodite or beautiful adolescent Dionysos, while others Satyrs hold baskets full of phalluses. A series of rhyta made on Delos constitute tongue-in-cheek variations of the ceremonial cup; the feline body of the sacred animal has been replaced with couples kissing or making love, while in the horn part are litophallic Satyrs pursuing Dionysos' headless.

Many marble and terracotta phalluses of varying sizes have been found in the small temple of Ithomnes, in shrines and in private houses. Most likely, there were many more phalluses made of perishable materials such as wood, leather and clay, which have not survived. From the words of Antiochus in Lysicella, it seems that phalluses were not always solely votive offerings – sometimes they could be used. Herondas (3rd cent. BC) in Philistote's records a dialogue between two women, neighbours and friends, talking about a phallus made of red leather and showing the solidarity of women in such matters:

William: Now, please, don't be to me my dear Franklin, when I need the red platinin for you?

Holden: Hankie, a short, bald fellow, sent to me by Antonius, the slaveholder's daughter. He comes to the holding twice a day to buy what I say there. I just passed him just now. He's a slave, right well. They're never that well! And that's not all! See at sleep and the slaves like down out brother. But where did you see it, Nitro?

Maria: The day before yesterday, Nastya, Anna's daughter, had it - oh what a lovely gift! Ida, her little daughter, came to her and told her she was now a mom.

Katia (to Winona): give me her hand and I'll kiss her on the cheek again.

Katia (to Winona): Just you say, she'll be the death of me. She begged it of me and I gave it to her. Miser, even before I used it. And she - yeah! think she's the one who found it, the only she acted - grabbed it and gave it to some who don't deserve it. Well, to hell with her, let her find another friend. To give something of mine to Nester? Shee the gods forgive me for saying more than nothing her a woman to say, but even if I had a thousand of them, I wouldn't give one to her, not even a coffee break.

These phalluses are often equipped with eyes, like the bows of ships. Eyes were necessary for phalluses as they were for ships; because both have to find their way in the dark to enter the port.

Seeing things from a distance, chronological or geographical, one tends to idealise. It is likely, however, that the lives and attitudes of most of the inhabitants of Delos did not differ greatly from the life and attitude of Timonachos in Selinunte. In many houses the anxiety of the *sauvagez riches* is evident as, pressured by the fact that they were *size nobilitas*, they attempted to carve out a social niche for themselves by ostentatious and wasteful spending.

When people are not happy with the present, they become nostalgic and tend to believe that their great grandfathers were happier, more virtuous and had achieved more important things. In the Hellenistic period, the notion of the "classic" was created. Phidias, Praxiteles, Polycletos, Plato, Sophocles, and Euripides became "classics" and anything new seemed inferior to their works. In the 3rd cent., in a strong tendency can be seen to return to the patterns and models of the classical and archaic periods. Then, as today, people would more readily buy copies of a work by an established dead artist than an original work by a restless, progressive contemporary. Wealthy Romans wanted to have something "classic" in their houses, because they believed it lent them dignity and good taste. Thus, skilled artists exhausted their talents mass-producing well-known statues or variations of them. The same happened on Delos. Everybody's house contains some many or less successful copies of "classic" works that they probably did not understand and may not even have liked, but at least they could say: "It's exactly the same as the copy the prosenium has in his house!"

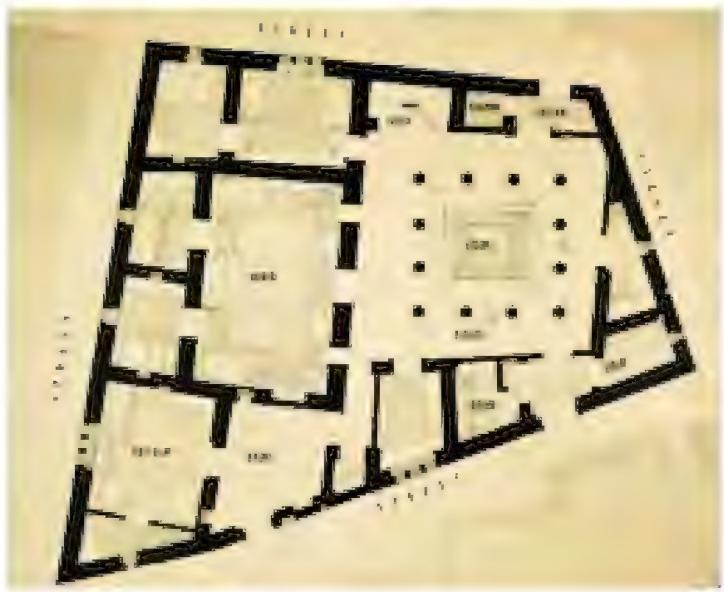
One of the main characteristics of the cosmopolitan population living in Delos at the end of the 2nd cent. BC is their tendency to imitate and copy, and the mass production of cheap imitations: the plaster or faience is an imitation of the marble masonry of more luxurious buildings; complex relief decorations do not differ greatly from today's plaster compositions; columns made of cheap material, granite or pines stone are forced to resemble marble. Clay wine cups are copies of more expensive gold and silver ones; mosaic floors simulate expensive carpets; most jewellery is made of "coloured glass", while rings, sometimes even those offered to the gods, are made of gold-plated bronze or iron. Clay and marble statuettes are likewise often gilded. Numerous copies of famous statues are placed in conspicuous positions in people's houses. The Athenian Cleopatra put her statue and that of her husband right opposite the main entrance to her house boasting in the inscription that: "Cleopatra, daughter of Alexander from Myrrinae (somewhere near Thess. Isthm. Isthmius...). All of these very human bodies make Delians more familiar and bring them closer to us."

Their role model was certainly not Athens, which at that time was little more than a provincial town losing out the eminences of past glory, but rather Alexandria, an amazing city with more than half a million inhabitants, a city where one could find everything he desired: rains, sunshine, power, pleasant climate, gladiatorial spectacles, philosophers, gold jewelry, young men, the temple of the Sibyl Gods, an excellent king, the Museum, music, every pleasure you might yearn for and so many more that, by Protagoras, the sky rarer knew that it has as many stars and beautiful as goddesses.²⁴ In Alexandria, however, there were not only riches and pleasures; there was also intense intellectual and artistic activity similar to that of Paris in the Graeco-Roman period. Delos never had anything comparable; it had no intellectual institutions like Alexandria's Museum or Library, and in artistic and technical terms, nothing original was ever achieved there.

The Houses

The houses of Helsi, like modern houses, vary greatly in their floor plan, which was determined by the shape and size of the lot, the wishes of the owner, how much he was willing to spend, and the changes made by later generations. A common feature is that they all look inward; the habitus are built around a square central court from which they receive light and air, and there are no exterior windows on the ground floor. In this way, the buildings were safer, cooler, quieter and protected from the noise of the city, while the private life of the residents was sheltered from the ceaseless activity on the busy streets. The houses are generally spacious and comfortable. There are very few whose ground floor has an area of less than 120 square metres; many cover more than 500 square metres, an area which is doubled if one takes into account that most houses had more than one floor; there were some that occupy three or four levels.

From the stoved, a double door, the right side of which is left open, leads into a small square or rectangular space, the forecourt (foyer or porch) to the right of which is the Thymosion, the room occupied by the Thymos, or doorman. The Thymos was a trusted servant whose job was not only to open the door for visitors, but also to monitor the comings and goings of the household. Across from the main entrance there



They played the *Life News*.
A. Thompson - A. Geral. 1926

In a second door kept closed, leading to the aula, the central open-air atrium surrounded by colonnades, the peristyle or peristolon. Underneath the central part of the courtyard is a large cistern that collects rainwater from the roof. The rest of the cistern rests on arches of porphyry stone and is covered by a mosaic floor at a level lower than the floor of the peristyle. In the summer months, this was probably filled with water, which highlighted the colours of the mosaics and evaporated slowly to create a feeling of coolness. Around the atrium are the reception rooms, the auxiliary areas, the slaves' rooms and the dormitories. On the ground floor is also the exedra, a sunnier room open on front, the aedictus or exedra – the formal reception room in which symposia were held, in which women did not participate – as well as men's bedrooms. Usually the bedrooms are at the back of the house so that strong sunlight and noise would not disturb people's sleep, and they are small enough to be easily heated in the winter. The atrium usually faces south to receive maximum light in winter and shade in summer. In some cases, the colonnade of the peristyle in front of the atrium is higher than the other three sides, so that this official room can receive more light.

Next to the secondary-cellarar, far from the main rooms, is the apodyterium (lattice) and the majorisn kitchen, or conchaeum. A closed door isolates these two areas from the atrium to keep the masters of the house from being disturbed by any unpleasant smells.

The latrines were fairly noisy and could be used by many people at the same time. The seat of both public and private latrines, which Hippocrates called a latrine, was a closed, wooden bench with holes in the upper, horizontal surface, built over a ditch connected to the main drainage system. In private latrines there were usually spaces for three to five people – public latrines had room for more. Public latrines with a bench of granite or marble have been found in Ephesus, Athens and Amegon. Such seats would undoubtedly have been pleasantly cool in the summer but extremely uncomfortable on cold winter days; in such cases, a slave would warm the seats before use by placing a clay vessel full of hot charcoal on them.

The baths were in a separate room with clay bathtubs. In the House of the Nymphs, two marble bench supports in the shape of lions' feet were found next to the bathtub. Clearly the upper part was wooden and bathers used it either to sit or rest their clothes on. Marble benches were also found in the Lake House and the House of the Sibyl, but as furniture items as simple, useful and cheap as this must also have been used in other houses, so it is virtually certain that most houses had wooden benches, perhaps in the peristyle.

From the ground floor, a wooden or stone staircase led up to the top-floor hypocaust, where visitors were not admitted. This was usually where the maidservant and children's rooms were, as was the frigidarium (the cooling bath with the sauna) and other highly decorated and furnished private rooms. In some cases the hypocaust is an independent apartment, accessed by an outer staircase.

The stone walls of the houses were covered inside and outside by plaster. Outside, the plaster was usually left white, while inside – by brushing, relief and painting – it would imitate the marble masonry of nobly-furnished members of elite sumptuous buildings. The walls of the secondary rooms were left white but those of the main rooms were coloured in warm earthy tones (brown or red) and had a narrow frieze decorated usually with a geometric design, stylised floral motifs or, more rarely, human figures. Even the ceilings were colourfully decorated, requiring many hours of hard labour.

The secondary rooms have lighter earth floors, ingeniously reinforced with broken seashells – waste from the porphyry workshops. These floors were difficult to clean, and when the situation became unsatisfactory, another layer of earth was spread on top and levelled with stone cylinders. Some rooms, particularly on the upper storeys, may have had wooden floors; the open-air rooms, like certain city streets, were sometimes paved with granite slabs. But the most common method of covering floors, especially in houses but in public buildings as well, was with mosaics made from a variety of stones set in strong bed of mortar on top of a specially prepared anti-slipatum. Mosaic floors are durable, impressive, but also practical as they can easily be cleaned and washed. The simplest versions were made of pebbles or cheap, recycled materials: marble chips, waste from other buildings or from stonemasons' workshops, or fragments of broken wine jars. In atriums and main rooms, quite luxurious floors were made with especially cut square tesserae (the width of each side was 0.08-0.09 metres). A variety of stones and other materials were used to construct these floors that often resemble colourful carpets or paintings. The decorative themes are limited, usually to geometric designs or stylised floral motifs, but there is also a definite preference for marine motifs (dolphins, octopuses, tridents, Tritons, fish), which is only natural as the owners of the houses make a living from maritime trade. Mythical masks and figures taken from the Hymysian myths are also quite popular. Despite the length of

time required to create a floor with these tiny tesserae. Since the materials used were cheap and recycled, and the labour was also cheap, mosaics must have been less expensive than the silk carpets they imitated, and much cheaper than marble floors.

In winter, rooms were kept warm with portable braziers in which coal was burned. The few windows on the upper floors were still light with curtains of leather or pieces of waterproof oiled linen cloth. The doors also had leather or woven curtains to keep out draughts. Since such methods never truly insulated the large, high-ceilinged rooms, it is likely that these luxurious houses were built for summer residence alone.

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FURNISHINGS

The only furnishings to have survived from ancient houses are clay pots and pans, since it was difficult and expensive to transport them. Valuable bronze, silver or gold vessels were either looted by pirates or taken by the inhabitants when they left. Wooden furniture was either burned or disintegrated. Wall paintings, reliefs and figurines often depict types of chairs, tables and coaches, giving an idea of what they must have looked like. These three items of furniture, along with stools and benches, constituted the main furniture of ancient houses. Wooden chests of various sizes were used to store clothing; wooden shelves and larders (larderboards) were used to store utensils, but most of them were simply hung on walls. Compared to modern houses, the houses of Delos would have looked quite empty, because in ancient times people did not need or have the number of decorative objects that fill contemporary homes. The few items of furniture used were plain, useful and functional but always, and this is true even for the cheapest objects, easily designed and decorated. Even so, the large rooms, despite being sparsely furnished, did not look cold or bare. Coloured fabrics (draperies and cushions, curtains and rugs, clay, bronze and silver vessels, decorated walls and mosaic floors) created a warm and pleasant atmosphere, without smothering or stifling the inhabitants by their volume or number. In *Oeconomicus*, Xenophon remarks that even pots can create an aesthetically harmonious picture when they are attractively arranged.

Cooked and Uncooked Vegetables

The inhabitants ate powdered albariari (dust) and scabious, which were latonaria (frogs). Farms in the south part of the island, on Mykoneos and on Rheneia supplied the city with fresh vegetables and meat; large quantities of imported foodstuffs (meats, oil, cereals, salted meats and fish, nuts and sweets) were also sold in the local markets. In the city's major markets (*agorae*) or in the smaller shops that lined both sides of the streets, one could buy the best products of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, Asia and Egypt.

Cooking was done in the *optanaria* (roasting house) using charcoal or wood. Wood was cheaper but gave off oppressive smoke that blinded the slave who tended the fire and caused the ordinary cook to "feel ill", which was unacceptable to the professional cook: "It is typical of a master-cook to surprise only, rather than scold pots and mix ill-smoke. I do not even enter the optanaria; I'd suffocate nearby and repulsive, unless the slaves intend to do: 'Keep the heat, hold up the fire, make sure it is heating evenly, the fuel pot is at a fuller bed than the others'..."

The professional cook, before agreeing to be hired, made certain there was a *katalegor* (roasted) cookhouse and that it had a *faner* (chimney) that did not smoke, something that could not be taken for granted. In Delian houses, the *optanaria* are small, windowless houses, next to the secondary door, which remained open in order to let smoke, fumes and cooking smells out. "As soon as I pick up the necessary items and loggia di roba," a cook of those times boasts, "no one can pass through our city. Instead, he stands, speechless and appalled at the door, until a friend, who is holding his nose, comes to fetch him." The atmosphere must have been stuffy in the narrow streets of the city where food was being prepared for dinner and houses must have been permanently blackened by the smoke. In the 3rd cent. BC, Sicily was famous for its advances in the art of cooking and Sicilian cooks were highly sought after. During the 2nd and early 1st centuries BC, Delos was the culinary capital of the Mediterranean, as it was inhabited by healthy, cosmopolitan inhabitants who were known for their conspicuous consumption. Its markets and Delian cooks and hosts also contributed to this fame.

Without going to the gastronomic extremes of the Roman Empire, the cuisine of that period was adventurous and excessively recherche. Professional cooks combined rare and costly ingredients in an attempt to unite many flavours, creating complex recipes in which no single ingredient could be identified. The comic writer Euphronius (CE 270-310), for instance, describes the achievement of the chef Scrodes who prepared a dish of *aylides* (sardines) with *arabracis* for King Nicomedes in Scythia. In most of Apicius' recipes, anywhere between ten and forty-five different ingredients were used. He has left a recipe for the preparation of a salted fish dish that contained no fish;¹¹ whereas in another similar recipe he concludes "ut nescire vobis agerem
quid roasterit"¹² – it will not one will recognize what they are eating.

The remains of food from an *epitypoxikon*, a semi-circular cookhouse that sold boiled meats and seafood situated on the road north of the Terrace of the Lions give an idea of the dietary preferences of the inhabitants of Herakleion in the 1st cent. AD. It appears that during this shop's latter years, the following approximate quantities of food were consumed: 2000 goats and sheep, 119 pigs, 26 cows, 40 bush, 2 ducks, 2 deer, 10 hares, large quantities of snails, large fish and seashells. The picture of what people ate is supplemented by inscriptions and references in ancient texts and chiefly from the clay cooking vessels (unburnt ones were last) found in Italian houses.

These pots, even the ones found in wealthy households, are generally small. In daily life, it seems that only small quantities were cooked, both because they had the means to preserve cooked food and because people seem to have preferred a wide variety of dishes rather than a large quantity of the same one. Besides, the number of dishes served at a banquet was so great¹³ that one could only "pick" at each course, since good manners required that the guest try everything so as not to offend his host. The table below gives an example of three different menus from different periods: the wedding reception of Marcellina in the 3rd cent. AD,¹⁴ the Lentini meal eaten by two monks in the 12th century AD, as described by Pachymeros,¹⁵ and a meal for six people prepared in March 2003 on Mykonos.

Dinner (Marcellina)		
Meals in Roman Britain 5 th century AD (all meat)	Feast prepared between meals (AD 100-200 AD)	Feast prepared Marcellina (3 rd century AD)
Salter (salted wine)	Bre (bread)	Bread (bread)
Beef	Lamb	Beef (salted meat)
Cow	Cod	Wine
Duck	Croftish	Saltwater
Wool (pork)	Boiled quince	Lentil salad
Cowpe	Cabbage	Big lentil soup and beans
Hare	Lentils	Small green vegetables
Bad	Onions and mustard	Squash or zucchini
Legume	Soups	Offal and sweetmeats
Scallopines	Chickens	Pork cooked with lemons
Turnip	Spiced pears	Beet potatoes
Roast pork	Rice and honey	Pork sausages baked with eggs
Offal	Black pepper	Beets (pepper)
Heracles	Others	Spicy fruit cakes
Meatless	Casseroles	Baked cheese
Waffles	Rice	Fresh meat cheese
Crusted Lamb	Apples	Homewell
Wines from Thessaly, Macedonia and Leontes	Meats	Bread por
Beef (ad)	Boiled eggs	Sweet pastries
French	Yoghurt	Apple
Lamb	• Lamb soups	
Yoghurt	Cream, Turnips and Turnip wine	
Roasted pears		

The shapes of cooking vessels and references in ancient texts indicate that most foods were *grilled* (bailed) and *fewer were grills* (roasted), as the ancient Greeks preferred their food "*soft with all the judges*". *Grilled* means something like today's pot roasts rather than food grilled on charcoal; furthermore, there were no fried foods.

as we know them today. In a recipe by Solon (c. 630 BC)¹⁷ sardines were "fried" in one cup of water, plenty of oil and chopped greens, the result of which must have been similar to the modern Greek dish *plaki* (baked fish with vegetables).

To make food tastier and to help preserve it, many condiments, liquid, fresh or dried, aromatic herbs, nuts and fruits were used. The liquid condiments most used were *garos*, oil, honey, vinegar and wine. *Gatou*, a special sauce used in everything including wine, was made from fish placed in beans twice and allowed to ferment in the sun for several days. The best *garos* was made from onions, mustard and oil, while the poor slaves and slaves used *garos* made from sardines and other small fish.

In addition to baked condiments, many seeds and nuts were used, chiefly pepper corns, which were added to everything, including sweets, as were cumin, mustard, celery, dill, fennel and poppy seeds. They are all small, pink in antiquity they must have been more expensive than they are today. They were sold then, as now, in small quantities packed in small cheap narrow-mouthed clay containers to protect them from humidity and to control the amount used. Seeds were ground in a stone mortar with pestle. In similar utensils of different sizes, pigments were also ground for painting, as were medicines and the powders used for women's cosmetics.

Only large houses had ovens; in most cases, cooking was done on portable braziers (charcoal) in which coal or sticks were burned (*gyrtukia*). The simpler ones were like the braziers still used in neighbouring Mykonos and all over the Greek countryside. In a child's grave on Rheneia a beautiful miniature *charca* was found together with a miniature pan (*lipsas*); these were toys with which the dead little girl in her short life would have become familiar with cooking, considered "the greatest of skills for man and for woman alike."¹⁸ The complex braziers for cooking food over coal had places for many different cooking vessels according to whether the food needed to boil or simmer or simply be kept warm. Braze braziers with coal were also used in the winter months for heating, because the smoke from a wood fire would have been suffocating in windowless ground floor rooms.

The shapes of cooking pots found in Delos are limited to a few common types, established through long use; these types were used centuries before and after, up to the present day. The basic pots were shallow cooking pots, *lipsas*, *tigana* (pan) and *charca*.

Chytros were used for salted split peas, water, meat, bread beans, grain, greens etc. For boiling large quantities, bronze or clay *lebetes* (cooking pots) were used. Such large cooking vessels were needed only for sacrifices or festivals and would not have been a necessary item in an ancient household, as they could be borrowed from a neighbour. Often one *lebetes* or one handmill would serve an entire neighbourhood, as is still the case today in the provinces. The *lipsas* was used to cook spicy, delicious soups, mainly fish, which was then served in the same pot so that the diners could dunk in the souce. It was closed on top with a lid and the opening at the rim was sealed shut with either plaster, dough or ash so that fatty meats could be cooked without water, either in the oven or by covering the vessel with fuel. The *lipsas* was thus very similar to today's clay baker. Fish, cuttlefish, octopus and other seafood was cooked in the *tigana* or *fragum*, a pan similar to the *lipsas*, and served hot in it. The consumption of fried foods, which even in those days were considered unhealthy, was the sign of a sybaritic and profligate existence. *Tigana*, like *chytros* and *lipsas*, are always found in three sizes (large, medium, small). They are vessels similar to the Byzantine *stegnata* and today's *skordalia*.

The *seiron* is a light clay pan similar to a modern frying pan. Its handle is hollow so that a wooden rod could be inserted in it to allow the cook to roast nuts slowly by shaking it constantly over the fire without getting burnt. On winter nights, people would huddle around the fire and roast broad beans and nuts in the *seiron* over the embers to accompany their wine. The *seiron* was an essential utensil in the cookhouse because, by not using pinenuts, cumin and other seeds, cooks would roast them lightly to bring out the flavor. The wood *charca* was used for both the brazier and a meat or clay mesh with four feet, similar to the modern griddle, that was placed over heat to cook bread, meat, sausages or fatty seafood, such as red.

Although the utensils of an ancient kitchen might seem less and poor by modern standards, they were highly prized and could even be used as collateral in a loan in time of need. In Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, a neighbour of Chremis, seeing the latter's cooking utensils outside his house, asks him: "Why have you brought them out, are you moving or are you taking them to be pawned?" In the wealthier homes on Delos, clay

plates and pots were found that had been broken and repaired with lead joints. People had a different sense of economy in those days; broken things were not thrown out, they were repaired and put to a different use or given to the slaves. Such vessels did not, of course, ever appear at banquets because they constituted a sign of abject poverty.⁷

WINE & DOMESTIC VESSELS

The wine trade was particularly important to the island's economy as every year thousands of tons of Bacchus' beverage were bought and sold, large amounts of which were channelled into the local market. Wine was sold in large clay jars (0.800-1 metre high with a capacity of 20-45 litres) that were pointed at the bottom. This shape facilitated transport on ships, as large numbers of amphorae could be placed sideways in rows, one on top of the other. The long narrow shape helped in storage when the amphorae were placed in galleries or rooms (wine cellars), in which they were half buried in the ground so that the contents could be kept at a constant temperature; the shape was also useful in decanting the wine into smaller containers using the pointed bottom as a third handle. With the help of a Juron (column) identical to modern ones, wine was poured into lagynoi, jugs used at table with a long narrow neck so that the flow could be regulated. For the sale of wine and other liquids such as oil and garum, pateroi were used, clay jugs that were exact copies of the official bronze units of measurement. Each hydria featured a certain shape of amphora and seals were stamped on the handles or rim before firing to inform the buyer about the maker of the amphora, or the owner of the vineyard, the town of origin, and year of bottling, indicated by the name of the annual local ruler. Thus, the buyer knew at a glance where the wine was from and how old it was. Amphorae, which had an interior coating of resin or wax, were then hermetically sealed with a clay stopper. Oil, garum, salted fish, nuts such as almonds and hazelnuts, olives, even cherries, wheat, flour, bread beans and other pulses were all stored and transported in these well closed containers, thus protected them moisture, insects and mice. An inscription on the vessel indicated its contents.

Doubtless wine, like song and dance, was an essential companion to all events in private and public life, its quality and the way it was served were decisive factors in the success of a sacrifice, a business meeting or a friendly symposium. The modern Greek word for wine, *tsipeli*, is derived from the ancient Greek *kratys* (which means "to mix"). Other words from the same root are *kratos*, the vessel in which wine was mixed with water, *kraspis* (ferry), *krasis* (blood) and the modern Greek words *krato* (to broil, to treat) and *krasi* (wine). Wine that had been mixed with water was called *kratopomos* (*pomos*, while *kratopomos* was strong, un-touched wine). The Greeks believed that only Scythians and barbarians drank *akrasia* (*drunk*). They themselves always drank wine tempered with water so that they would not get drunk and that the enjoyment of drinking would last longer and drink would contribute to the merrymaking and conversation. Getting drunk was a sign of bad manners, which is why at the bottoms of wine cups, the evil effects of intoxication were depicted as a warning to drinkers. The comic writer Eubulus (4th cent. BC) has Dionysus saying: "I fill only three kraters for the temperate: the first for health, the second for love and pleasure, the third for a good sleep and when they have drunk me, the noise goes away. The fourth is not from me, it comes from above, the fifth brings roundness, the sixth drunkenness, the seventh blues, the eighth brings the police, the ninth rage, the tenth brings sadness and throws you down unconscious."

Identical advice can be seen even today hanging on the walls of taverns; but there, because wine is drunk abstractly, the references are to glasses not to kraters.

The first brings appetite
The second health
The third brings joy
The fourth happiness
The fifth brings man
The sixth gallbladder
The seventh hunting
The eighth trouble
The ninth brings arguments
The tenth police.

Conservative Herod recommends three parts water and one part wine, but the more usual proportion of water to wine was 3:2, 4:2, or 5:2 and Greek wines were strong enough to take three parts of water without being considered weak. The 4:2 mixture was generally accepted, but if one水ed the wine down more, guests would tease their host that his wine was suitable only for frogs. Often, particularly in the winter months when hot wine was required, herbs and spices were added. The ancient authors mention wine flavoured with rose, violets, thyme, dill, myrtle, pine, cypress, saffron, valerian, cinnamon, pepper, honey, garum and many other things. At symposiums, guests wore wreaths of ivy, myrtle or roses, the scent of which helped them stay sober and avoid hangovers and vomiting.¹¹

In the cellars of Italian houses, dozens of amphorae were found containing wine from all over the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. In some shops and taverns one could sample the best wines that the international market had to offer: the superb wines of Chios and Cos, wines from Rhodes, Cnidus, Thasos, Apollo, Epirus, Corinth and Thessaly. Such a *tabernulae* (small wine shop or tavern) was found a few years ago close to the little temple of Idaionys. It off a *cavicularia* kitchen for staff as well as a *triclinium*, a few minutes away from the port and a few metres away from the eastern and northern exits of the Sanctuary from which pilgrims would emerge tired and thirsty. The male population of all ages walked frequently along this road leading to the porticoes, the hypocausts, the gymnasium and the stadium, and the surrounding area was full of shops and workshops. On the other side of the road were the public latrines, another temple and the Agora of the Italians, a meeting place for all the island's Italian businessmen. The tavern opened at the end of the 2nd cent. BC, chiefly to cater to foreign visitors, as Greeks did not frequent them, preferring friendly gatherings in private houses. Although the tavern and its cellar are quite small (the total area is just 16 square metres), 26 amphorae were found in it containing approximately 900 litres of wine, mainly from western Italy and Cos. The quantity of wine is indicative of the success of this tavern. There were 130 clay cups for serving wine, in four different shapes, each of which held a specific quantity (from 0.3-0.5 litres). Amongst these cups 61 *skaphai* (a type of clay cup) can be singled out for their relief decoration. They were made using moulds, many of them from the same mould, and were cheap imitations of Alexanderian silver cups. At the time the wine shop was destroyed, 38 cups had been in use and were found thrown on the eastern floor of the tavern. The remaining 102 cups were found stacked, one inside the other, along with many burnt pieces of the wooden furniture on which they were kept.

The tavern served only wine, hot or cold with mats, which the customers consumed standing either in front of the raised counter or out in the street whenever the weather permitted. The tavern had a cell in which a woman lived, either the owner or a prostitute – or both – since even in these days of individual freedom, no respectable woman would condescend to live above such an establishment. Athenodorus' pirates set fire to the tavern and totally destroyed it during the 6th or 7th BC raid. The customers left their wine and fled in a panic, the tavernarius did not even have time to collect the day's takings, and the woman in the cell left behind not only her cheap jewellery and *pantylia*, but also her savings. Some 2000 coins were found, proving that her customers were chiefly foreigners and visitors from many Mediterranean cities (Aphrodisias, Hilynia, Colophon, Andros, Selinous, Antioch, Ryne, Myra, and Italy). Currency from most cities was accepted and it appears that she had no problem being paid for her services in foreign currency, which she could easily exchange it at one of the nearby banks. What is remarkable, but also characteristic of those times, is the fact that the owners of such a shop were familiar with the value of so many different currencies. Globalisation seems to have been accomplished many centuries before our time.

SHOPS AND WORKSHOPS

Many craftsmen and labourers were drawn to this growing city because of the jobs to be found there. Workshops and industries transformed imported raw materials from all over the Mediterranean into luxury items for both the local market and export. The bronze coaches and perfume¹² from Rhodes were famous and much sought after.

A district with markets, shops and workshops was soon created to the north and northeast of the Sanctuary, producing clay and bronze vessels, statuettes and figurines for pilgrims, toys, jewellery and clothes. Apart from the markets, there were many retail shops on the main street of the Theatre Quarter and in the porticos flanking the main road to the east and north of the Sanctuary. Workshops were located main-

ly to the north and east of the Sacred Lake, apart from workshops such as the ones producing porphyry which were some distance from the city because of their unpleasant smell. Porphyry, an unstable dye ranging from yellow to deep purple extracted from the mollusc Murex, was a symbol of power and prestige. Purple garments could be worn only by statues of the gods or by powerful people. After gold, it was the most valuable and sought after symbol of power.

To the east and south of the lake, in addition to the popular athletic establishments, there were also dozens of shops in which sculptors, bronze workers, lamp makers and potters worked as well as workshops manufacturing terracotta figurines and vases in the shape of animals or other figures, and shops that made lead objects. A little farther north, in the Insula of the *Imperato*¹⁴¹ there was a workshop specialising in bronze caskets with rich relief decoration. The moulds and the relief decoration that were found there justify the reputation¹⁴² enjoyed by this item of furniture in ancient times. In about the same district there were sculptors' workshops in which many craftsmen mass produced miniature copies of famous works of art to be sold to the local people and pilgrims. Many such shops were located to the west of the *Dodekathoron*, in the Agora of Thesephoros, in the *Sema* of Philip, south of the Julian Agora, in the Agora of the Competaliasts and elsewhere. Just before the disaster the most popular statuettes were those of Aphrodite, Hercules, Artemis, Harpies and Sarapis.

Workshops employed some free craftsmen but mainly slaves, and labour accidents were not infrequent. Nineteen slaves belonging to Pythagoras were killed in such an accident, among whom were Ammonia from Cyrene and her daughter Apollonia. The stele erected on their grave in Rheneia¹⁴³ is indicative of the origins of the slaves on Delos: "Master of Maids, Dame of Maids, Elder of Apamea, Bishop of Isna, Callipyg of Odessa, Onouou, Hermeleas of Rosel, Antipater of Myzene, Asclepiades of Siles, Apollonides of Maronea, Neophanes of Ioppa, Menekles of Marathon, Ioss of Marathon, Hydriotes of Maids, Nica of Maids, Ammonia and her daughter Apollonia from Cyrene, Neophanes of Apamea, Leader of Apamea, Eleon of Myndos, Zelides of Naharia, Irena of Idiot, citizens (slaves) of Potanias, far her will." The place names show that these slaves had come from the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyrene and Arabia.



Encountering Gods and Mortals

BRIEF TOUR OF THE SITE

FROM THE PORT TO THE SANCTUARY

The visitor

arriving today descends between the Sacred Port (1) and the Commercial Piers (2) on a narrow strip of land created at the beginning of the last century by the填海 resulting from the French Archaeological School's excavations. At that same period the Sacred Port was completely filled in, the coastal outline changed and a peninsula was created, dividing what was previously one bay into two. The earlier archaic harbour was farther north, in Sardanes Bay (3), while smaller port facilities existed to the southwest, at the Asclepeion, and to the northeast, below the Stadium.

A paved asymmetric square known as the *Agora of the Beneath or Compromisers* (4) begins immediately after the quay. As early as the 1st cent. BC, Italians began settling on Delos, their presence becoming stronger after the mid-2nd cent. BC, with Rome's rise to predominance. Most were bankers and merchants from South Italy and Sicily. These Italians were organized in various professional societies, each under the patronage of a god, whether Apollo (*Apollonians*), Poseidon (*Oseidonians*) or Hestiae (*Hestians*). In this square, the center of their commercial activities, they dedicated many monuments and altars. Most of them lived in the town's new quarters north of the Sanctuary, where, towards the end of the 2nd cent. BC, they built the so-called *Agora of the Italici* (5), the meeting place for the members of the Italian community. In about 100 BC, the Society of the *Campomaliati* made its appearance in the square that now bears its name; its members were largely free men and slaves under the protection of the *Iares Compromisarii*, the gods of the crossroads. This square is studded with small temples dedicated to Hestiae, the god of trade, many cylindrical votive altars, as well as a marble exedra that once held bronze statues. In the Sanctuary there are many such rectangular or semi-regular statue bases (stele/par) with marble benches for worshippers to rest.

The great main avenue (6), measuring 12 meters in width, begins at the square and leads to the Sanctuary of Apollo. To the left is Flavia the *Basilica of Philip* (7), built circa 210 BC by King Philip V of Macedonia. A few years later, behind the *Basilica of Philip*, another one was added, the *West Basilica*, open to the dock and the harbour, and used for commercial purposes.

The *South Piazza* (8) on the east side of the road, was constructed after the mid-2nd cent. BC by the King of Pergamon. Behind the third colonnade were 14 small commercial shops and workshops. Through an entranceway in the middle of the building it communicated with the *Agora of the Italici* (5), the earliest agora or marketplace in the city.

Along both sides of the road, in front of the colonnades, stood thrones of marble and bronze statues; only their inscribed bases remain today.

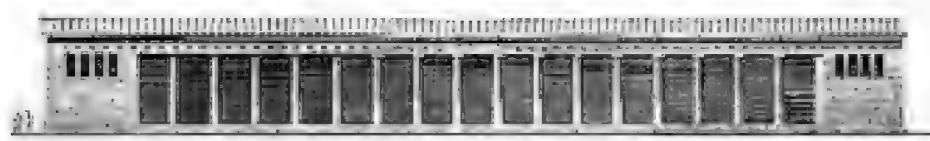
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* The numbers in parentheses in bold type within the text refer to the map of the site on pages 106-122.



An archaeological drawing of the Propylaea of Philip
G. Boukes, 1886.

10

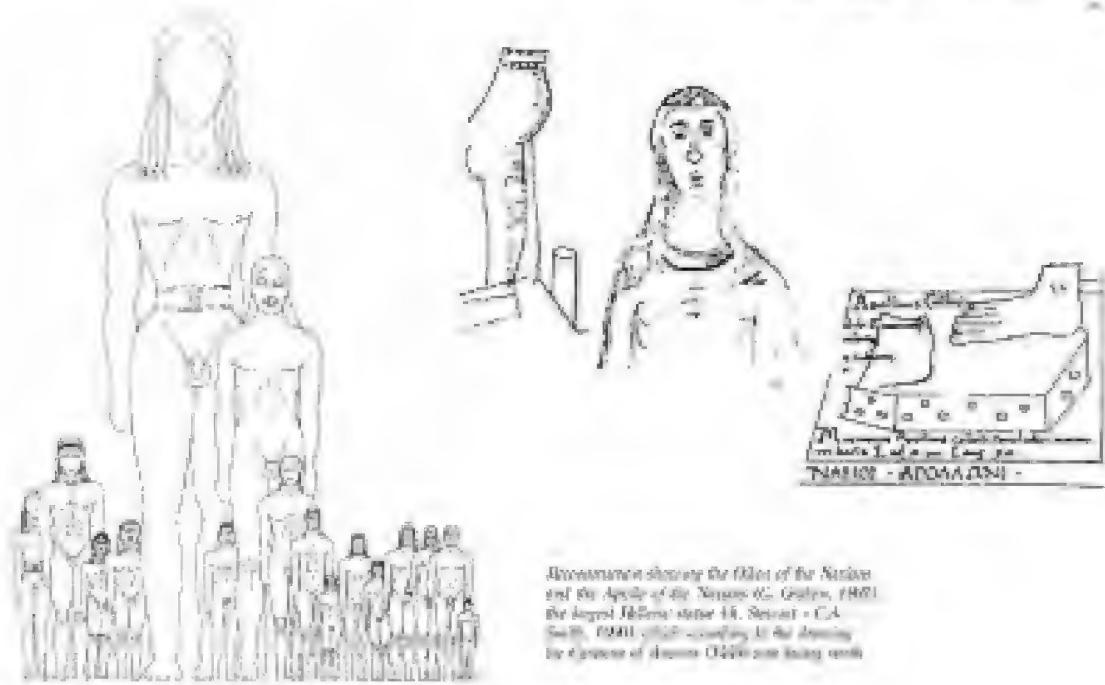
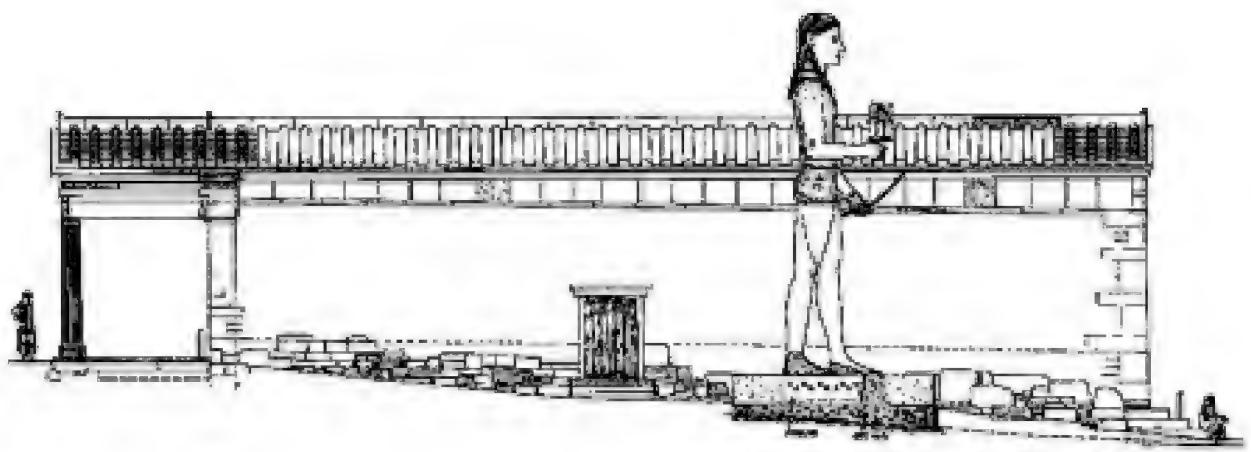
The Propylaea (the main entrance to the Sanctuary) was built during the 4th cent. BC by the Athenians upon an earlier Propylaea built in about 520 BC by the Naxians. Around the end of the 5th century, the impressive building complex comprising the *Oikos of the Naxians* (10) and the Propylaea was supplemented by an L-shaped Ionic colonnade, the *Naiskos of the Naxians*. The circular marble base of the bronze palm tree that was dedicated in 417 BC by the Athenian general Nicias is still visible near the colonnade's interior corner.

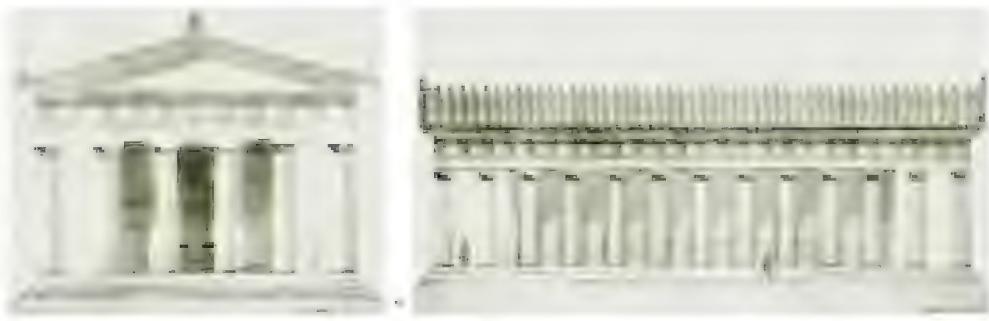
11-12

The *Oikos of the Naxians* was built in the early 4th cent. of large granite blocks. The portico on the west side had three columns between the ends of the long walls. During the mid-4th century, a second entrance with a marble porch was added on the east facade. The pitched marble roof was supported by eight thin Ionic columns that divided the interior of the building into two sides. There are different theories about the use of the building; some hold that it was the earliest temple of Apollo, others that it was used to store sacred vessels and votive offerings, or yet others that it was a dining hall.

On the northwestern corner of the building is the huge marble base weighing approximately 27 tons that supported the towering Colossus of Naxos, a statue of Apollo approximately 9 meters in height, dating to the early 1st cent. BC. The god was depicted in the *Kouros* type, nude, frontal, with long hair, sturdy shoulders, and the left foot placed slightly in front of the right. In his hands he held either a bow and arrows, or the Three Graces. The surviving pieces bear the holes that served to fasten the statue's bronze locks and belt. The god's right hand was visible from the sea, and the broad Avenue of the Lions ended at its base. Even when the Sanctuary was covered with buildings, the head of Apollo was visible from all sides.

The statue had a tumultuous history as early as ancient times. According to Plutarch, at one point the bronze palm tree of Nicias fell over and knocked down the statue. The Naxians restored it in its base and it was apparently then that they inscribed the west side of the base: *To Apollo from the Naxians (NAXIΩΝ ΑΓΑΛΜΑΙΝ)*. The east side bears one of the earliest Greek inscriptions: *ΕΩΝ ΑΡΓΟΣ ΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΑΙΓΑΙΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΣ*, i.e., "Majesty and base, I am made of the same stone!" In more recent times, the statue's impressive size drew the attention of invaders, as well as "collectors" of antiquities, who as far back as the 17th century, carried off sections. In 1616 the Venetian Cristoforo Giundelmonti¹⁰ reports that he and his comrades attempted to raise the colossus: "We also saw upon a plain on Delos an old sanctuary constructed of many columns and a huge statue fallen upon the ground, so enormous that though we were over a thousand men and had all the equipment and ropes from our ships not three would be able to move it. Thus we despaired and left it at the same location. We also saw a surplus of other statues, created with amazing skill, never cast down upon the earth, others covered with crowds of earth."





The Great Temple of Delos (H. L. Cuvier : G. Perrot, 1827)

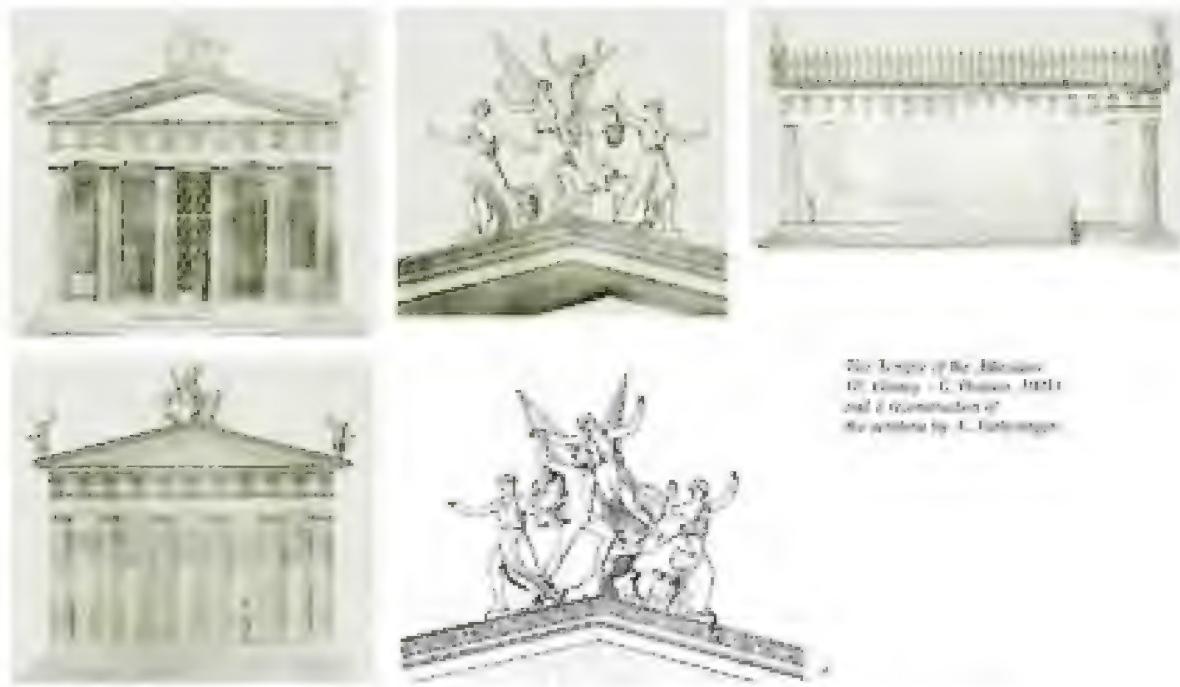
In 1465 Cyriacus of Ancona sketched the surviving sections of the colosses which, according to the sketch, was facing north (and not west) looking towards the pilgrims who disembarked in Skardona bay and walked down the Avenue of the Lions to reach its Iaso and Karatos, the final point of their pilgrimage. In 1661 the French Ambassador de la Haye mentioned that he observed the British sawing the statue in two. Around 1695, either a British captain or the Venetian Governor of Rhodes cut off its head, all trace of which has since disappeared. At one time an attempt was made to haul away the remaining sections, but was unsuccessful because of their weight, and the parts were abandoned in front of the Artemision Club. The statue's torso and pelvis are still there; the British Museum has a section of the left leg, and the Delos Museum has the left hand. In 1913, Demosthenes Pippas recorded a Mycenaean tale associated with the Apollo of Naxos, as narrated by Evangelos Navas:

Apollo was King of Asia (Milesia) and the secret lover of the princess, daughter of the King who reigned in Miles, which was then a great Empire. Every night he would don his mortal wings and fly from Asia and visit Miles to feel her. She at first used by her secret love to speak. And her father did not except this, and cast her out and took her to Mycenae and on that island, which had no houses then and was simply a barren soil, he built a small grove in which he represented her. And Apollo sent among these Milesians [Milegous = a Cheryl] after the adulterous process whom Hera informed thereof. Apollo, when leaving Miles, was caught by the day and his mortal wings melted in the sun and he fell into the sea and drowned. And before, the princess' pregnancy was revealed."

Many Kouros-type statues of young men were found in the Sanctuary, votive offerings to Apollo from the inhabitants of Naxos and Paros. In the earlier museum catalogues they are listed as "orchestic Apollos" and it is indeed difficult, unless they are holding some symbol, to distinguish whether they represent the god himself, heroes, dead youths elevated to the status of heroes, victorious athletes, or simply young worshippers. These athletic youths display their well-trained bodies confidently under the pitiless Cycladic light with a distant, enigmatic smile. This smile suggests they inhabit a superior world, to which common mortals will never have access.

Immediately after the Oikos of the Nassau are the three temples of Apollo. The first, which was also the largest, was dedicated by the Delians and is therefore known as the Great Temple, or Temple of the Delians (H.O.). It is the only peripteral temple on Delos, with six Doric columns on each narrow side and 13 on each long side. Its construction coincided with important events in the island's history. Construction, which was funded by the Treasury of the Delian League, began in about 470 BC, but the building process was interrupted in 454 BC when the Treasury was transferred to Athens. Work began again during the Period of Independence, after 1832 AD, but was never completed and the columns (scattered around the temple) were never finished. Inside the temple was the cult statue of the god and many centuries' worth of previous offerings, which transformed it into a kind of Museum of the Sanctuary's history.

Next to it is the temple referred to in the inscriptions as the Temple of the Athenians (H.I.). For its con-



The Treasury of the Athenians.
17. Drawing - G. Thomas. 1813
and a transcription of
the drawing by A. Lohmeyer.

structure. Athens sent valuable white Pentelic marble and the required experienced craftsmen, who probably worked under the supervision of Callimachus, the master craftsman of the Temple of Nike. Built between 425-420 BC, and probably inaugurated circa 417 BC by General Nicias, it was an amphiprostyle temple in the Doric order, with 6 columns on each narrow side. Inside the cella, seven statues were placed upon a base-shoe-shaped base of grey-blue Ileianian marble, hence the inscriptions referring to the temple as the *House* in which stand the Seven Statues (*Οἴοντα δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ*). The excavations unearthed many sections of the temple's wonderful acroteria. The east side's central acroterion depicts Boreas, King of Thrace, the personification of the north wind, abducting the young princess Oreithyia, daughter of the Athenian King Eleuthreus and Praxithea. According to the legend, Eleuthreus scolded the princess as she was dancing on the banks of the Ilissos River and took her to Thrace. Their offspring were the winged brothers Zetes and Calais and two daughters, Cleopatra and Chione. The central acroterion on the west side depicts Eros (Hermes) carrying off the handsome Cephalus, another Athenian hero, son of Hermes and princess Elane, sister of Oreithyia. On January 13, 1881, Panagiotis Kavvadas, the Ephorus of Antiquities of the Prefectures of the Cyclades and Eubaea gave a very likely description of the former group in the *Catalogue of the Delphi Museum on Mykonos*; but he misinterpreted the scene.

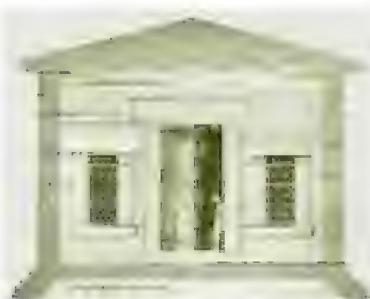
"The group depicts Prometheus abduced by Heracles, who binding the left hand and thus setting his prey by his seat with his left arm, is now using while looking to his right, grasping the toes of the steeds drawing his chariot; he is preparing at the same time to strike with his right fist. Prometheus, however, resisting the abductor tries to remain on the chariot and appeals for help. This group is undoubtedly related to sculpture number 1744, not so much because they were discovered together on the same site, but because their pieces belong to the same School and indeed are by the same hand. They are also linked as regards the scenes depicted because number 1744 also depicts a steerman setting a steed, while the four female figures (numbers 27, 29, 32, 40) undoubtedly belong to one of those two subjects, most probably that of Prometheus seized by Heracles. But we know from other records of an. that like most plenty with the other steamer images. Thus we have a composition depicting the abduction of Prometheus while the steamer who were playing with her are holding round twofold to and fro, or possibly to assist the abductor restrain. The last have been exhibited as front of a wall because the backs of the surviving pieces have not been worked on at all and their legs

begin to assist in mounting them upon a small, most probably the tympanum of some temple pediment, possibly that belonging to the Temple of Apollo, since the curve of the figures portayed, their graceful and exalted deportment and lively movements and, indeed, the placement of the raised and lowered arms are most suitable for filling the space of a pediment. Praxiteles' famous statue of a young shepherd-cherub, fastened at the shoulders with a clasp, a girl's head being his mask. A bronze shield rests on her back, which is drawn back to form a knot. Her head adheres to the shieldborn and diadem type and the detail of the hair is anatomically correct, although not exceeding that standard set by the art of the capital glorious years, having neither exaggerated muscular tension, nor a detailed depiction of each muscle. Praxiteles, although leaving the majority and absolute majority and full depiction of the nude as the School of Athens, always has respect through a delicate, judicious representation of human beauty of girl and young woman, and through the skilled representation of the beauty of her form, in particular of the tender and melting flesh and the simple and graceful folds of the robes along the easier lengths of the body. To this end right and the liveliest and charming expression of the eyes, turning to and fro, revealing us of the *Neritai* of the stately countenance of the *Nereids* of Xanthus. Considering the above I think that this prior is a product of the 4th century BC created by an artist who was a member of the Attic School of Sosias and Praxiteles. The marble is very badly damaged. Praxiteles is missing her left arm from the shoulder, her right from the middle of her forearm and her lower extremities. Holes took the right arm and both hands from the pubis and while his torso has been cut off bearing number 201 and his private. Holes measure 650 from the pubis area to the croup of his head, while Praxiteles measures 120 from the lower end of her leg.

112

The third temple, the *Maus Temple or Phrygiae Odos* (112) was built of poros stone during either the period of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratus, or that of his sons, in the late 6th cent. BC. The famous statue of Apollo, created by the Athenian sculptors Tisias and Angelos originally stood in this temple and was later transferred to the Great Temple. It consisted of a wooden core to which sheets of hammered gold or gilded bronze were attached. The god was depicted in the *Ioum* type, holding a bow in one hand and the Three Graces or three Muses in the other. The Graces, according to Plutarch, were holding musical instruments, the lute, aulos, and syrinx.

112-13



112 Maus Temple or Phrygiae Odos (P. Gandy - G. Piaton, 1991). Through the half-open entrance the statue by Tisias and Angelos can be distinguished.

The beauty and grace of the god is further emphasized by the frequent presence of his companions, the Graces, Nymphs and Muses who supplement and accentuate the picture of eternal youth. The Graces symbolize ideal grace and perfection in mortal beings and mortal works. The Nymphs, deities of the waters, lived in springs, fountains, meadows and mountainous and were the embodiment of matronly maidenly youth and the beauty of nature. The Muses, like the nymphs, had the gift of prophecy; they knew "what is, what is gone and what has been", as Hesiod writes, who, in common with other poets, began his hymn by invoking their aid. It was Hesiod who in the Theogony first specified their number and gave them the names by which they were worshipped to the end. Most important was Calliope, the goddess of epic poetry and later of rhetoric, who was depicted seated and pensive holding a tablet and stylus. Cleo, pathosress of history, was represented holding a scroll. Euterpe holding a double flute (auloi), while Thaleia, goddess of pastoral poetry and later of comedy, holds a theatre mask. Melpomene is the goddess of musical harmony and song, and later of tragedy. Terpsichore was originally the patroness of dance, and later lyric poetry, muse of marriage. Polyhymnia, of hymns to the gods and heroes, and thence of the study of heavenly bodies. Many statues of the Muses were found on Delos, copies of the famous works by the sculptor Phidias, son of Polydorus, from Rhodes.

In contrast to most other ancient Greek temples, whose entrance is on the eastern facade, the entrance in all three temples of Apollo is situated on the west side. This feature, which is unique to the Hellenic temples, may perhaps be attributed to the fact that to the west lay the famous *Horn Altar*,²² an altar that, according to tradition, had been built by Apollo himself from the left horns of the goats that he or Artemis had killed on Mount Kynilius. The foundation of an apsidal structure (13) discovered in front of the temples has been identified as the *Heraion*, the building that protected this most ancient and venerated altar.

During the archaic period, to the west and especially to the north of the temple were many dozens of statues of *bouleiai* and *laos*, votive offerings from private individuals or cities, many of which survived because they had already been covered over in antiquity. In the contrary, all that remains of the hundreds of marble or bronze statues dedicated in the Sanctuary during later centuries are their inscribed bases. These votive offerings were in plain sight and were either looted, used as construction material, or burned in lime kilns.

The large square building (13) next to the *Katholikon* was constructed in 345 BC by the Athenians and may be the *Pythion*,¹¹ the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo.

The Artemesion (16) is a separate, smaller sanctuary, within the Sanctuary of Apollo, separated from the rest by an L-shaped Hellenistic wall. The temple was built by the Delians during the Period of Independence and its foundation of large granite blocks is still visible. Its façade, in contrast to the temples of Apollo, was on the east side, and it had a portico with six Ionic columns. A small rectangular structure dating from the early 7th cent. BC located outside the cella is thought to be the earlier Artemesion. Also outside the cella are the surviving sections of a larger building dating to the Mycenaean era, which has been associated with the worship of *Macha Theraia*, a female deity, later identified with Artemis. In the northeastern corner of the temple, gold, ivory and other Mycenaean artifacts were found, which may have originated from the neighboring tomb of the Mycenaean Maidens. Amongst the 1500 ivory fragments is the famous plaque with the Mycenaean warrior, possibly the work of a Cypriot workshop. It is probable that Delos, or neighbouring Mykene, where a Mycenaean royal grave was discovered, had ivory workshops. Near the Artemesion, the statue of Nicandra, and the Nike of Anchermos, as well as some vases were found. Here is the very vivid and refreshingly prejudiced description of the Nicandra statue by Dionysios Kavvadas:

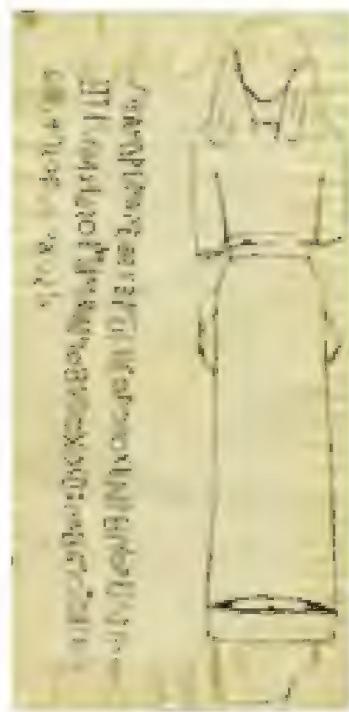
"In ancient and coarse state of Artemis-shaped her on ecclastic, which though little and made out of copper, human, indeed female form, as is evident from the hair and of course the head of heron on the shoulders. The lower half of the body follows precisely the shape of the original, almost squared off, having only two wedge-shaped processes to indicate the feet, and the upper body distinguishes somewhat slightly on the part of the transformation and constitutes a great return to the lower half, being considerably narrower on the subject of the art of ancient Greek and Roman. The head has a retouched natural oval shape and the hair in the back, falling below the shoulders, in a mass of curly locks, which is the case of all the female figures of that time. The nose is elongated, the mouth is thin, the eyes are attached to it. Although the mouth is damaged, it is possible to distinguish the eyes and nose and especially the nose. You can easily according to the Hesiod's custom. The hand is compact and precise. It is held on the left side of the body, under the hand it bears a small circular inscription, written Pausanias, Iberian, born right to left and left to right, stating that this work was dedicated to Artemis by Nicandra, a woman whose family comes from Samos, it stood until a year, since the hand is totally unbroken, although exposed and endures poor conditions or affecting the water damage and causing a deep religious feeling. It is broken into two pieces, at the feet, joining together perfectly. It is approximately 2 and a half."

The statue of Nicandra is the earliest, large-scale female statue. With its daring inscription, the statue speaks directly to the viewer, leaving no doubt as to who dedicated it: "Nicandra, distinguished amongst women, daughter of Hippodamas of Samos, sister of Aristocles and wife of Miltocles, dedicated me to her whose amours fly far." Artemis, or Nicandra herself, is depicted clad in a long dress that covers her flat body. The next statue of a slightly later date has curves and a sense of the body, but her garments remain a lifeless surface upon a lifeless body. Later ladies were depicted nobly and elegantly dressed and bejeweled, but never with any hint of sensuality or enticement. These archaic ladies and their slaves in coquettishness were paintings; they are the last examples of women with their hair loose. Hair is an intensely erotic feature and only a husband's hand was allowed to see it loose. In later centuries, women are portrayed with their hair severely pulled up or back or frequently covered, as was the case in Greece until just a few decades ago and still is in rural areas, constituting a sign of submission and the recognition of the man's sovereign right. Women would cut their own hair at the funeral of their beloved as a sign of complete resignation and the denial of any physical life. The severest punishment and humiliation of errant women would be to cut their hair, a practice still followed today in many places. Perhaps that is why a woman's first gesture of resolution has always been to cut her hair.

Nicandra, a woman with a strong and militant personality, as her name indicates, may have been financially independent, enabling her to make this costly offering and to dare inscribe her name in the inscription.



The base of an Attic vase and its Xystos.
Photo by Dr. G. Kourouklis.



tion, but she nevertheless defines her identity through her closest male relatives, in order of their power: her father first, then her brother and last her husband. As early as the archaic era women had been relegated to second place. Herodotus frequently cites the myth of Pandora, from whom sprang all the ills of the human race, as would later be the case with Eve. Created by Hephaestus and endowed with all the graces by Athena, Aphrodite and the Graces so that no one could resist her, Pandora was sent by Zeus to Prometheus or Epimetheus to punish them for stealing fire. Prometheus gave fire, until then the prerogative of the gods, to man, and Eve (Knowledge) became the beginning of civilization. Eve, who was also given to Adam by God, gave Adam to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, resulting in his loss of Paradise and from then on being obliged to eat bread by the sweat of his brow. Thus woman became the source of evil, the means by which the gods or God, punishes humanity in general and men in particular; their knee is represented as a trap by which they destroy men. In Christianity a woman became the means of redemption, but this was unavoidable because the Christian God, being the ultimate patriarchal prototype could not, unlike Zeus, give birth.

20-218

On Hellenistic Delos, however, Artemis was much more popular than her twin brother, and after Aphrodite and Isis, the most beloved goddess. Approximately 25 statues, statuettes, and reliefs, or fragments thereof, have been found, usually depicting the goddess in a short chiton and close fitting leather boots, garments that perfectly suit the vibrant and energetic goddess of the hunt, while her cult statues depicted her dressed in a long chiton. In a statue of Artemis Elaphousa discovered in a house in the Theater Quarter, a cold, scullish academic work, the goddess is portrayed with her spear raised, ready to administer the fatal blow to a kneeling deer. Her divinely cold and expressionless face is in contrast to the dramatic moment and the pain of the fallen animal. This particularly cruel work would have seemed even crueler in the urban environments of Delos, where people were not accustomed to such hunting scenes. In the despair of the deer many spectators would have perceived their own despair and would have seen humanity's tragic fate and

202

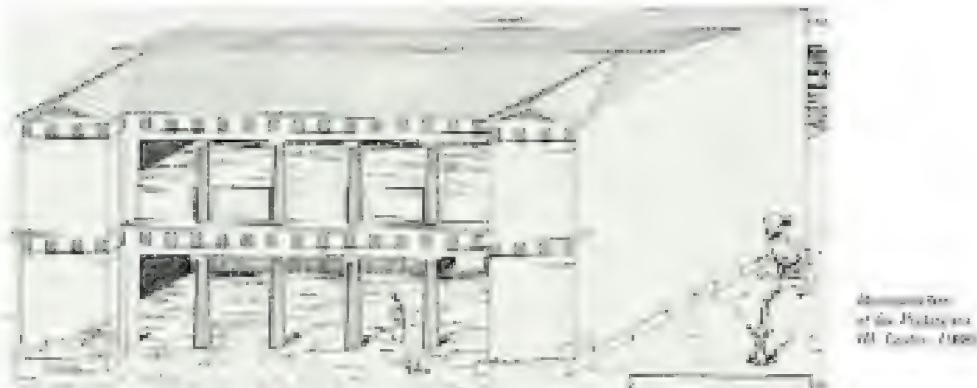
the gods' indifference to human pain in the composition as a whole. Artemis, the goddess of nature and mathematics, in later years replaced Hestia as goddess of the hearth. There was another sanctuary of the goddess on Ichnaea where she was worshipped as Artemis-Hestia. Hestia, daughter of Zeus and Hera or of Potamos and Asteria, goddess of moonlight, was originally the divinity who brought happiness, victory, wisdom in court, and a successful outcome to sea voyages and hunts. The tragic poets depicted her as a chthonic deity, mistress of mocked spirits who, accompanied by the spirits of the dead, roamed over graves and places where there needs man. Witches invoke her assistance to make their spells work.¹⁰

Just now I will purify her from my enchantments!
To thee, Severe, wise clear and fair, for safety, Goddess,
to thee and Faing, and to Hestia of hell.
The tems unhelps sinners before her as she goes
through black flood and across the barrows of the dead.
Hestia, we just flounce to the end by thou of our company,
and make this mockery of ours an weaker than the spells of these
or of Melies, or of Thymoede of the golden hair...
Hestia, back! We see the bounds are boundary of and down the heart!
The Goddess stands where the three ways meet!
Hestia, and claim the sacred canopy.

A few meters past the last temple of Apollo, the surviving foundations of the *Hildi* or Treasuries of the Classical Era (460-380) are arranged in a semi-circle. These small temple-shaped structures, votive offerings by various Greek cities, were originally used as lodgings or dining halls for pilgrims, and later, when the temples were overflowing, they stored the most precious objects and offerings.

South of the Treasury 1201 is an ailing building dating to the first half of the 5th cent. BC that has been tentatively identified as the *Pnyxion* of the Delians (221). Behind it are the ruins of the *Ptytanion* (222), i.e., the seat of the *ptytanai* or archons of Delos. City records were kept in ptytanai, public buildings that correspond to our present-day city halls. At the same time they were religious centres dedicated to the worship of the goddess Hestia (known as Vesta to the Romans), who considered her an earlier and much more important goddess, protectress of the family hearth as well as of the city hearth. The city's sacred fire was kept permanently alight there; the building also housed a dining hall, where the ptytanai and all who had rendered the city great service dined at public expense. Banquets honouring foreign ambassadors, victorious athletes and other honored persons were also held there. The *Ptytanion* of Delos was constructed in the first half of the 5th cent. BC and completed in the late 4th cent. BC. The entrance was on the south side where there was a portico with four Ionic columns and a paved courtyard. A wall divided the remaining building into two halls, each with its own vestibule. The foundation of Hestia's altar can still be seen in one of the halls, while in the other were two small chambers where the city archives and the vessels used to serve meals to the ptytanai were stored. The city archives were under the protection of Cybele, the Great Mother of the gods, whose sanctuary, the *Metrum* may have been in the *Sarapeion*.¹¹ The great Thrygian goddess Cybele was introduced early into the Greek Pantheon and identified with Rhea, Hera, and Hestia. She is the earth mother, the mother of the gods, whose throne is on mountain peaks and in impenetrable forests. Wild beasts obey and accompany her. Her progress was preceded by the noisy Curetes and the Cymbalists, Inverters of drums.¹² The death and resurrection of her beloved Attis was celebrated with cries, ululations and frenzied passion, accompanied by the sounds of drums and rattles. The drum was the characteristic musical instrument of her wandering priests.

To the east of the last two buildings stands one of the strangest architectural monuments of antiquity, known by the unconventional name *Minaret of the Halls* (223). It is a long, narrow building, 12x40 m. long and 10.37 m. wide divided into three parts: a vestibule with portico in the south, a huge ailing hall in the centre with a marble floor and benches against the walls, and a smaller hall in the north with a trapezoidal seat-base. Three entrances led into this latter hall; the central one was flanked by two unique supports, a combination of plaster and semi-column, with twin busts of bulls on the upper sections of the piers. The surviving sections of the monument's sculptural decoration depict dolphins leaping amongst foaming waves and a Nereid reclining on a sea-couch. The building's central hall may have been the "Nostion", which housed a trireme, possibly an offering of Demetrius Poliorcetes, on the occasion of his victory of Salamis on the island of Cyprus (323 BC). The building dates to the later years of the 5th cent. BC.



At the southeast end of the Monument of the Bulls stands the altar of Zeus Soter and Polieus, and immediately after that is the wall separating the Sanctuary from the noisy commercial area.

The *Pleroma* of Amorgos (Q2A), 120 metres long and 20 metres wide, takes up about two thirds of the north side of the Sanctuary. It was built in c. 250 BC by Antigonus Gonatas, King of Macedonia as declared on the *anthephorai*: King Antigonus son of King Demetrius of Macedonia or Apollo (*Μακεδονίας Αρχηγός Δημητρίου Αρχηγός Απόλλωνος*). The peristyle, which was not used for commercial purposes, was in the shape of a U with 15 pink stone Ionic columns in the interior, and 47 grey-blue marble Ionic columns on the facade. On the Ionic entablature, *Inglypta* alternated with reliefs of bulls' heads. At the east end, the mutilated statue of the Roman proconsul Gaius Villius, dedicated around 100 BC by his friend Midas son of Zemini, is still standing near three marble exedrae.

In front and approximately at the center of the peristyle, amongst the bases of various statues and enclosed by a semi-circular wall is a Mycenaean tomb. This was considered to be the *Youth House* of two Hyperborean maidens *Aige* and *Oyr*, who according to Herodotus, after coming to Delos to assist Leto in giving birth, remained on the island as priestesses. The tomb was considered sacred and, therefore, left untouched during the Purification of 420 BC. During the Hellenistic era the low wall served to protect its statue as an *abaton*, a sacred area where no one was allowed to set foot. Another semi-circular building in extremely bad condition southeast of the Artemesion has been identified as the *Youth House* of *Kardice* and *Hypnos*, another two Hyperborean maidens. Customarily, young brides-to-be would come here to offer locks of their hair wound around a spindle, and youths their fine beard wrapped in grass, gifts symbolizing the traditional roles they would assume in the family.

A building on the northwest corner of the Sanctuary (Q3), which was identified for many years as the *Therapeumon* dedicated to Demeter and Persephone, was recently thought to be the *Therapeumon* (or *Therapeumon*) of the *Ketoi*. Next to the Therapeumon is the *Ekklesiasterion* (Q2B) where hearings would take place. A small Roman temple and sections of an early Christian basilica erected upon its ruins have survived within the present. The Sanctuary's north entrance is situated between the Ekklesiasterion and the Graphé (Q2C), a late 3rd century building when paintings were exhibited.

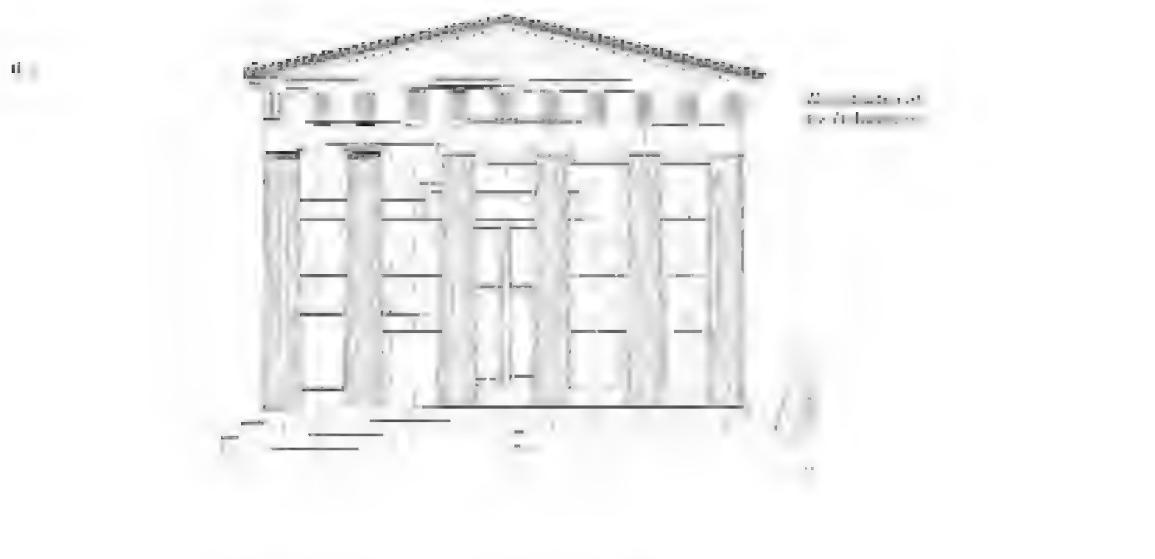
THE AREA NORTH OF THE SANCTUARY

Northwest of the Sanctuary is the *Agora* of *Therapeutes* (Q2D), the Athenian *Hyperbolites* or admiral strategos of Delos, who in 126 BC saw to the development of the site. The large base that bore his statue has been preserved in the centre of the square next to the ruins of the *Mausoleum*, the sanctuary of *Poseidon Neopleros*. Therasos is associated with Delos, since it was he who anchored the wandering islet to the bottom of the sea with diamond columns, changing it from *aileios* (uninhabited) to Delos, and giving Leto a place to bring forth the twin gods of light. The personification of the power of nature (nature,



Representation of the Hippodrome Hall (C. Lewes & J. Gibell, 1866)

earthquake, rising highest, Poseidon was worshipped on Delos under the appellations *Nauclatites* (protector of ships and sailors), *Asphalitus*, *Orthocrus*, *Therclianthus* (protector of the city's stability), *Aestus* and *Hippoglytes* (header of horses). The merchants, bankers and warehouse owners from Tyre, Ascalon and Hrymes (present day Beirut) who resided on the island worshiped Poseidon as one of their ancestral gods while the Romans worshiped him as Neptune. As early as Homeric times, Poseidon is presented as the god of the sea. In the *Iliad*, enraged, he proclaims himself equal to Zeus and defines his domain:

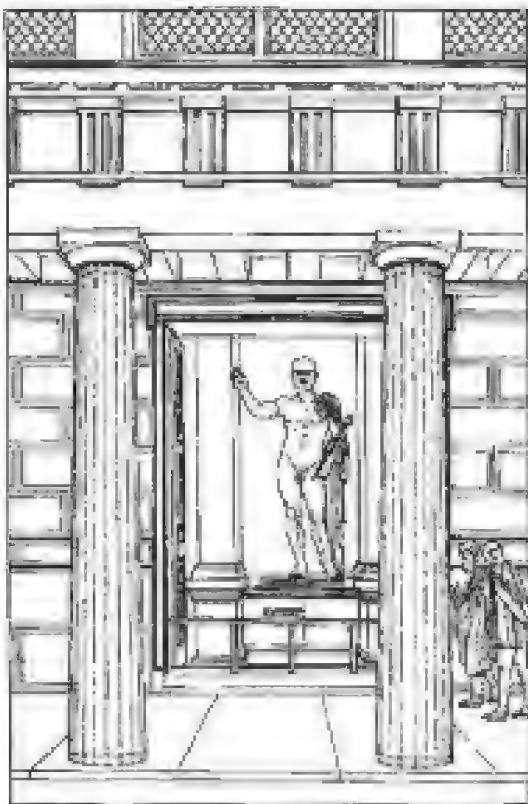


*But the gloomy god of earthquake shook me first;
What strange fear at his fit, what startling affright?
So fear me, will fit, to break my will to fit
With fit more high horror!
Three brothers we are, all sprung from Ocean,
All of us brought to birth by Hera - Zeus and I,
Hades the third, God of the dead beneath the earth.
For all men spit there come. The moment we move
When we shake the fits I bear the fits, no foaming strand letter,
And Hades from the land of the dead required to have and night
and Zeus doth the darkness, the clouds and the high misery,
But the earth and Olympus high are come to us all."*

The Hypostyle Hall (300) is an odd building dating to the end of the 4th cent. bc. 58.45 m. long by 34.30 m. wide. On the long south side, where the entrance was also situated, was a colonnade with 15 pines since their columns with marble capitals. The architrave bore the inscription "Dedicated to Apollo by the Delians" (επειναντοι του ανεγερνησσι, but after Millett, the word Delians was replaced by Athenians). The interior had 44 columns, the peripheral being Doric and the rest Ionic. The roof was higher in the centre with large openings around it, admitting light. The function of the building is unknown. Houses and a monastery complex were later erected (1 - 7 cent. Ad) on the ruins of the building. The recent structures around it were built at the end of the 19th century to house the members of the French School.

East of the Hypostyle Hall is the Deslekatikon (300), a sanctuary dedicated to the Twelve Olympian Gods, which originally contained only altars. The small Doric amphiprostyle temple was built early in the 3rd cent. bc. At the rear of the cella the base on which the cult statues stood can still be seen. Thirteen of the twelve statues of the twelve gods¹ created by Parian artists and dating to 500 bc have been found on the Deslekatikon site. This strange family appears to be reconstructed: Hera, sister and lawful wife of Zeus sits on his right on a throne, and beside her stand seven other goddesses. To the left of Zeus stands Athena, his daughter exclusively, and Leda his mistress between their two children, Apollo and Artemis. The statues of Zeus and Hera that stood against the wall and were not visible from behind, are hollow to reduce their weight and facilitate their transportation.

¹In the same area a wonderful head was found from the colossal statue of a deified Heros (hero).



Reconstruction of the stoa of the Agora of Athens (adapted from A.H. Smith & C.H. Smith, 1969).

He is depicted with the features of Alcibiades, in order to emphasise his right of manhood. Demeas, a nephew of the statesman Brasidas, considers that the corruption and dissipation of the Athenians was such that even Democritus furiously remarked that among his contemporaries Athenians there was no good or manly-spirited man. An Athenian boy can descend Democritus as the nearest and fainest god.²²

North of the Dodekathoron is the Granitz Monastery (131), a building dating to the 2nd cent. BC, which probably housed a Society, and opposite was the Letopri (132), a 6th-century temple dedicated to Leto. Worshippers would use the bench inside it to rest. Votive monuments, public buildings and shrines frequently had such benches where passers-by might sit to rest, chat and enjoy the view. On another marble bench, which ran down the interior of the temple's cells, the faithful would leave their offerings and dedications. The cells contained the archaic wooden statue known as Leto, seated on a throne, clad in a thin chiton and purple himation, a work so strange in the eyes of the Hellenistic era that, as the historian Senneca the Roman notes, the melancholy philosopher Pyrronius of Metapontum "burst out laughing at first as he saw it, Leto and Hera, exceedingly important deities during the archaic period, who received many offerings, are pushed aside during the Hellenistic period by Aphrodite and Isis and no one pays much attention to them.

The goddess's bema (sacred precinct) was sacrificed around 136 BC to allow for the construction of the flamboyantly baroque Agora of the Juliani (133), the largest building on Delos. With the construction of this defiantly massive building on the holy isle, the Superpower of the age made an explicit statement of its presence, its power and the regulating role it was determined to play in the Aegean. There were many small shops and workshops around its exterior. A marble gate on the south-west side led into a large open-air space surrounded by unadorned colonnades with thick columns on the ground floor and square pilasters on the upper floor. The architrave was inscribed with the names of the donors in both Greek and Latin. Behind the ground floor colonnades were naiskos and exedrae with hexagonal statues. In one such exedra



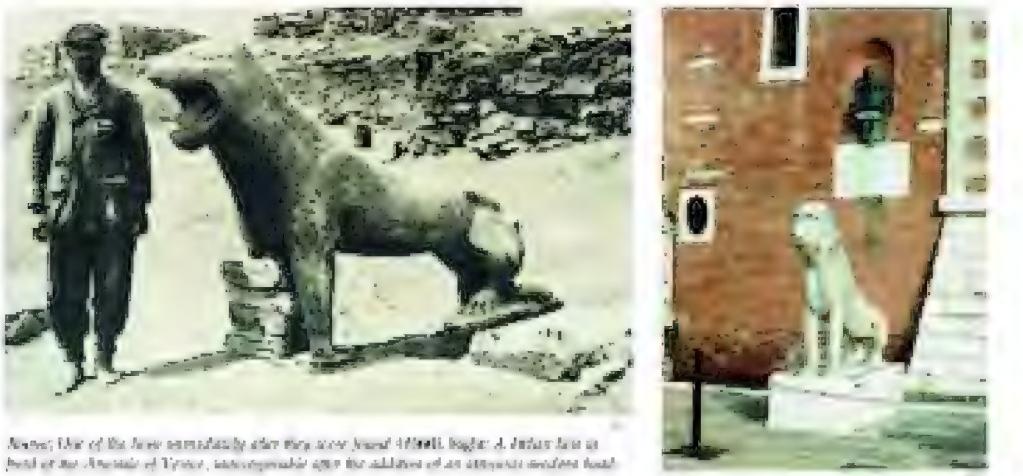
The Sacred Dale in the early 20th century, before being filled in.

stand the larger-than-life statue of Gaios Upbellus Athene, created by the Athenian sculptors Irenopas and Timarchides, as indicated by the inscription on the base. Gaios Upbellus, a wealthy merchant from Campania who had business interests on Delos, paid for the construction of the Agora's west colonnade, perhaps under the condition that he would be granted a spot in which to place his statue. Naturally he paid not only for the construction of the alcove but for the statue as well. He is depicted nude, his loincloth flung over his left shoulder, with a youthful vigorous body, in the manner of works by Polyclitus and Myron. Standing, his raised right hand brandishing a long spear and his left holding a small sword, testifying the success of statues of Alexander the Great, he may possibly draw a parallel between his commercial successes and the conqueror's achievements. Both conquered the world. The equestrian representation, along with the Pseudo-Athlete and the bankers from the House of the Seals, give an idea of the incongruity of presenting a maladroit man with the body of a young athlete.

The annoying insistence of these rich businessmen on the precise depiction of their face recalls C.P. Cavafy's Lanius, son of Kamelios,²² who, firmly opposing the famous Kyrenian painter who tried to convince him that he must absolutely portray him as Hyacinth, told him to present:

either Hyacinth nor anyone else
but Lanius son of Kamelios, the Athenian.

Lanius, like Gaios Upbellus, the Pseudo-Athlete and the bankers, displays with disarming innocence and unconscious honesty exactly what they have: the former his beauty, the latter their riches and power. However, all the faces had to be immediately recognizable by the viewer, otherwise nothing was gained from the outlay. Gaios, the Pseudo-Athlete, and the bankers, who were not of Lanius's age, did not hesitate to lay new another body, oblivious to the bizarre and unnatural result. And if anyone had dared to remark upon it in their presence, they naturally would have paid no attention. The artist himself confirmed that this was what noble Romans of the day did. The head from the equestrian statue of a man in a cuirass, erected in another of the Agora's niches, reflects the same circumstances. The expressionless face with its stern fixed glance and tight lips reveals someone accustomed to giving orders. The highly polished marble further accentuates the cold expression of the military man.



Above: One of the four immediately after they were found (left). Right: A fourth lies at rest at the Archeological Museum, incongruous upon the altars of an ancient sacrifice.

Two statues of Gauls from the same site are quite different. They were probably related to the victories of the Kings of Pergamon against the Gauls, or the slaughter of Celtic mercenaries by the soldiers of Mithridates II Philadelphus in 276 BC. The first statue, exhibited today in the National Archaeological Museum, depicts a wounded Gaul fallen onto his right knee but continuing to fight raising the characteristic shield he grasps in his right hand.²⁹ Only the striking head of the second statue, with its wild "barbaric" features survives. Both statues emphasize the fierce nature of the Gauls in order to make the achievement of the Greeks even more admirable. In these works, as on the altar of Pergamon and the Parthenon, the victories of the Greeks against the "barbarians" are presented as victories of Civilization over Barbarism, of Order against Anarchy, of Law against Violence, achievements comparable to those of the Olympian Gods (battle against the Giants), raising the victorious kings to the level of Divine Saviors.

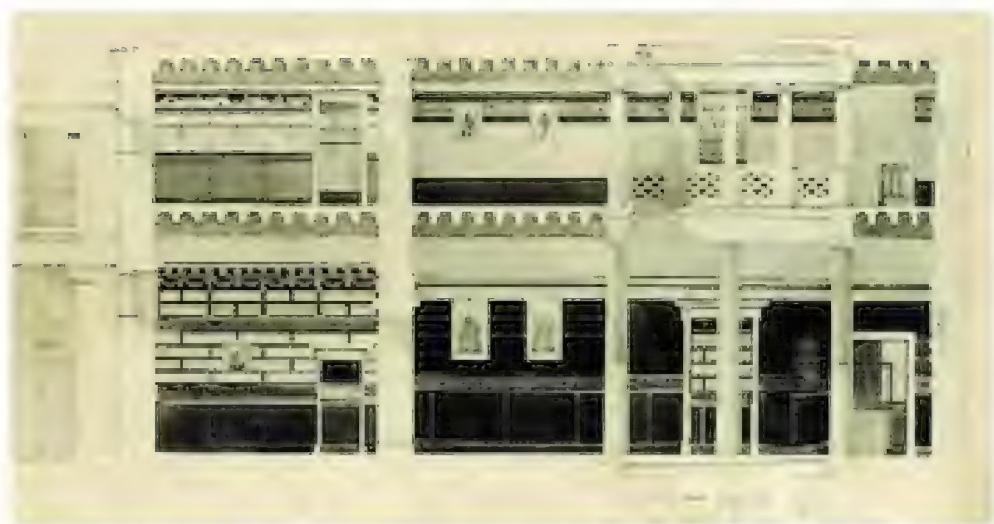
On the west side of the road, opposite the Sacred Lake (26) is the Terrace of the Lions (25). The original number of lions dedicated by the Norians to the Sanctuary is unknown, but is estimated at between nine and nineteen.

During the Hellenistic era, when the island's safety gave way to an intensely commercial and cosmopolitan atmosphere, it is very likely that the statues were raised further south so that the new inhabitants could build their ostentatiously luxurious houses. The terrace was probably destroyed early in the 1st cent. BC, since parts of the lions were used as construction material on the wall built in 97 BC by the Roman Gaius Tiberius to protect whatever had survived the attack of Athosodorus' pirates.

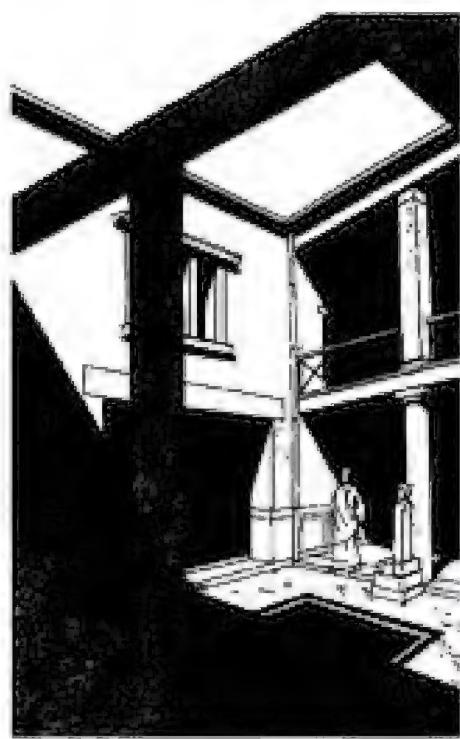
Early travellers' testimony shows that parts of the lions were visible up to the 18th century. In 1716 Venetian travellers saw the headless statue of a lion that reminded them of the lion of St. Mark, the symbol of the Most Serene Republic of Venice. They therefore transported the headless lion to Venice, where it can still be seen in front of the Arsenal, with an exceptionally ugly added head. Parts of the lions were discovered in 1886 and 1894, although most of the pieces were found in 1988; it was then that they were placed on high bases by Demetrios Stylianopoulos so that they would be on the original level of the terrace. In October 1989, the sculptures were transferred to the Herakleion Museum and replicas were erected in their place.

A circular wall indicates the position of the Sacred Lake (25) during the Hellenistic era. It was drained in 1925 by the archaeologist Demetrios Pippas to address a serious malaria problem that risked causing the guards and excavators to abandon Delos. The palm tree in the centre was planted in 1988 by Pippas, in remembrance of the palm tree he'd embraced to give birth.³⁰

Four columns northwest of the Lions mark the building that housed the establishment of the Hellenistic of Nysa (27). It was built in the 2nd cent. BC as a religious and commercial centre, as well as a meeting place and club house for merchants, shipowners and warehouse owners from Nysa (Olbia) the great com-



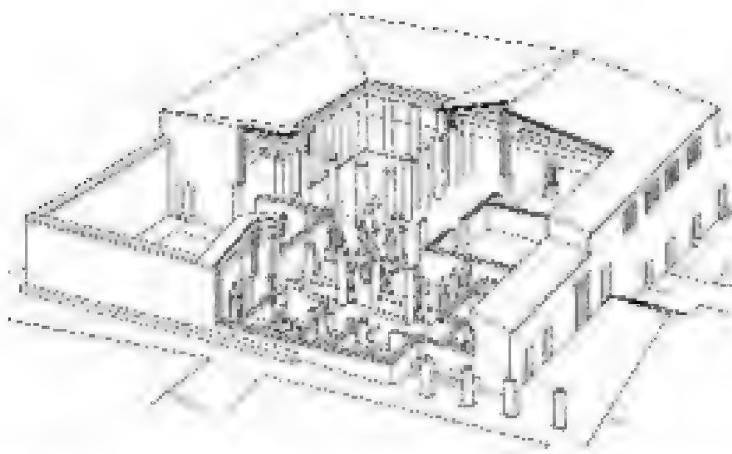
Architectural drawing of the interior of the House of the Sun at the UVa of Chimalistac (A. Gómez, 2001).



Architectural drawing of the atrium of the House of the Sun (A. Gómez, 2001).



Architectural drawing of the ceiling decorations in the House of the Sun (A. Gómez, 2001).



The Department of Research
of the Foundation of Ugarit (C.S.
Board - A. Andreau) 1980.

metral city of Syria. A large peristyle courtyard with an underground cistern is in the center of the complex, and there are many rooms on its south side. On the southwest side stood altars and small temples where Baal-Hosidra, Asatir-Aphrodite, Ramman-Aphrodite, as well as the goddess Rame, whose headless cult statue survives in place to this day, were worshipped. The famous statue of a nude Aphrodite ready to strike a sandaled Pan with her sandal was found in one of the rooms on the south side. Diodoros Siculus described the group very vividly in his characteristicly long sentence:

"Nude Aphrodite, with her hair unbound, swinging her right sandal, stamping a stinging goat-skinned Pan, his intestines hanging, leers on a pillar and regards her, grasping her with both hands, whose right hand holding held by this leering racy Aphrodite's left shoulder (the wings were separately worked but are missing). Aphrodite carries the panther with her left hand, while her right hand holds her, her left sandal threatening Pan. Here and there certain extremities of the entire group are missing. Traces of red colour are visible especially on the lower parts. On the base is the inscription:

The statue, set up by Zenobius, son of Zenobius,
A Jezebel, now from Argive Aphrodite this for himself
and his children in the gloriified world."

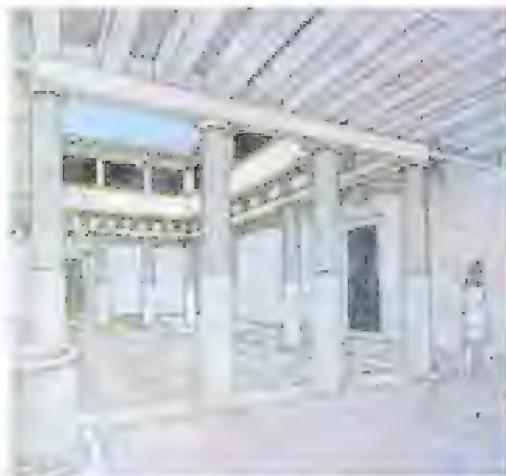
The same entity spirit imbued another group found here, interpreted as the romance between the nymph Amymone-Beroe and Hosidra, according to a local legend myth. Hosidra surprised the beautiful Beroe, daughter of Adonis and Aphrodite, at a spring while she was drawing water. Beroe was pictured on coins of Beirut, but she is not unknown on Delos, since it seems she also had been Apollo's mistress. Only the female figure and the male hand that is undressing her by pulling at her tunic have been preserved from this pair.

Outside the southwest corner of the building is an Early Christian inscription, which, heavily weathered on the marble, bridges the centuries and shows how little human needs have changed: CHRIST HIC IN HOC SILENTIO NOSTRA EXISTET: MUNERA TUI AUREA CITT MUNERA. On the east and south sides of the building are many shops and workshops.

One of the poorest quarters of the city sprawls up around the Establishment of the Hosidriosteis; it was the first to be burned during the raid of 1896, just a few city blocks have been excavated in this quarter, and its wealthy lobbies yielded significant findings.

In 1896 rain falling on an unexcavated building (20) at the top of the hill exposed its painted facade. There were nine successive layers of wall paintings depicting celebratory sacrificial scenes and the protecting gods of the house: Hercules, Hermes and the Lares. The walls of the house opposite, which has come to be known as the House on the Hill, have been preserved to a height of 4.50 meters. Like the majority of houses on Delos, it too was a two-story building with a three peristyle on the ground floor and plaster-

114



Reconstruction
of the atrium in the House
of the Gladiators.
J.B. Huerta -
P. Pérez (1990)
and the team
of the
House
of the Gladiators.
J.L. Rodríguez de la Torre
(1990).



The House with
the Pylons (right) and
the atrium of the House of
the Gladiators (left).
J.B. Huerta -
P. Pérez (1990).

in the upper story balcony. The few traces of interior decoration that have been preserved allow for the possible reconstruction of the interior wall decoration.

In the neighboring "House of the Seals" (60), imposing portraits of the masters were found, perhaps copies of their official bronze portraits in Rome. The unusual base on these marble busts suggests that they may have been modeled on plaster casts of the official statues brought in from Rome for this purpose and carved locally. They too, like Gaks and the Pseudo-Athlete, adopt the nude body of an athlete with the himation draped over the left shoulder. On the first floor of the house, the family's extensive records, including thousands of papyri containing contracts and letters, were kept in wooden containers and on shelves. From these records come approximately 11600 seal impressions, which survived because the building was destroyed by fire. The burning papyri and the wooden furniture on which they were placed fired the raw clay of the impressions thus ensuring their survival. These seals, measuring 0.01-0.075 m., came from public and private documents dating from 108-68 BC. Fingerprints survived on their margins and imprints of the papyrus fiber on the back. The hole created by the flux has been preserved along the length of the vertical axis.

The next city block was named *insula of the Gladiators* (61) because of the multitude of funerary objects found

there, among which were many *fatigas*, relief couch decorations, which justify the reputation of the couches manufactured on Delos. As in almost all the city's quarters, private residences, workshops and stores existed side by side in the same block.

The *House of the Comedies* (43) complex was excavated in 1961-65 by the excellent French archaeologist Ph. Bruneau who, in collaboration with other archaeologists, very soon published the excavation material, giving the first documented information on a Delian residence.¹⁷ The west residence had two floors above the ground floor and a roof pediment. In the larger main house, fragments were found of a mosaic depicting scenes from tragedy and the New Comedy, whence the name of the complex. The mosaic floor of the east residence, which has an unusual atrium with a roofed corridor on the north and east side, depicts a female 'Union with Love'. The complex, built and inhabited in about 125 BC, was totally destroyed in 69 BC.

In one of the eight houses that form the west block, the *House of the Jewels*? (44) the mosaic floor of the oikos was preserved in good condition. The emblem (central motif) depicts Athena in full armor, Hermes with his winged sandals and caduceus, and a seated female figure. A border around the central motif depicts bulls' heads and masks from tragedy and comedy and faun-like decorations. From the floor of the upper storey of the same house comes the mosaic depicting King Lycurgus of Thrace pursuing Dicayous' nurse Ambrosia. In another house in the same block a woman hurriedly hid her savings and jewels, without ever being able to return and retrieve them. On 18 August 1964,¹⁸ 59 silver *obole* tetradrachms, 3 gold Rhodian coins, three pendants, two pairs of earrings, two bracelets, one ring and three necklaces were found in a small hole dug in the floor and covered with a brick. Three silver coins were found in the soil next to the covering stone, a fact that shows how hastily the treasure was concealed. A silver coin, gold earrings and necklaces buried in another dwelling in the same complex were found on 9 August 1966.¹⁹

Most of the *House of the Diadumenes* (45), one of the richest private buildings on Delos, was uncovered in 1968 by Louis Courc, who among other things, excavated five of the most important buildings in the ancient city in four months: the Lake House (48), House of the Diadumenes (45), House on the Hill (40), House of the Trident (46) and Icarpos House A (68), with the foreseeable catastrophic results. Courc²⁰ complains that many days were lost to the necessary investigative work, the bad weather and the workers' religious holidays and writes: 'This number may not seem great for eight weeks of work with an average of 50 to 100 workers but one must take the circumstances into account, because one only has to remove a layer of earth that is no less than three meters high...'. As a consequence of this haste, very few findings resulted from the excavation of all these buildings, mostly fragments of inscriptions and sculpture. The ground floor and the eastern of the two-story House of the Diadumenes yielded three portraits, the statue of the Pseudo-Apollo, the statue of Artemis, a head of a satyr, an inscribed base, two other marble statue heads and the best copy of Polykleitos' *Diskobolos*. This copy was made at the end of the 2nd cent. BC, although the original bronze statue was sculpted in about 450 BC. It depicts a young athlete flinging his hair with a ribbon, the symbol of victory, who is either starting to walk or pauses while walking – a characteristic pose of Polykleitos' statues. The perfectly fit body and the calm pensive expression on his face illustrate the ideals of the classical era. Full of self-confidence, clad like the gods in heroic nudity, a nudity that to the Greeks symbolised a higher civilisation, he displays with narcissistic tenderness the flawless beauty of his body and constitutes the perfect symbol of the male-dominated society of the 5th cent. BC. His strong disciplined body illustrates the singular values of Cleopatras Greco, demonstrating the superiority of the aristocratic class and its right to hold power. The low trunk on which his himation and quiver are leaning was added by the copy's sculptor; it did not exist in the bronze original, which did not require support. The ignis, a characteristic feature of the statues of Apollo Herkules, the perfect athlete, may have been deliberately added to lend the statue of the mortal athlete something of the god's radiance and may indicate that the copy was made specifically for Delos.

The nude statues of the classical era never show weakness, pain, effort or old age. Even when a wounded hero is portrayed, it is the perfect beauty of his body that is emphasised, which in the Greek culture represented existence itself. For the Greeks, the body was never man's prison, the evidence of his downfall or the instrument of his punishment as it was perceived by subsequent monotheistic religions, but rather an object of admiration and worship. The fear of old age and bodily decline are often evoked in poetry, grave stelae portray the dead in the prime of their youth and funerary inscriptions do not refer to life after death, but mourn the lost joys of life on earth. After death, human beings are caught but powerless images, shades that sadly recall their life. Achilles would prefer to see the light of the sun even if it meant he would 'die again for another man – some diff'erent friend who escapes killing alive – than rule *anywhere* over the breathless dead'.²¹



August 1861. The Philistines, supported by the Apaches, continue to try to shake off the numbers of a few officers and privates from the "perfect hosts". The Southern brutes continue in the right of the Angel memory, whereas the good soldiers "merrily" "drummed" long hours and passed an August 10 in the Christian world with the idea of their own salvation.

On the base of a hemispherical building is the inscription: "Dedicated when the trainers [of youths] were Socrates son of Philocles and Sokrates son of Sokrates, of Athens" (*Monographie des Stoaion 1969* 102; *Monographie des Stoaion 1970* 102). Such trainers created private palestra bearing their names, where they frequently gathered. In appropriately organised settings they trained boys and youths in the Greek pentathlon (foot-race, long jump, wrestling, discus throwing and javelin) assisted by specialised personnel (arms masters, archers, javelin throwers, musicians, bath attendants and palastria guards). Private palestra were under the supervision of the *sage* (the Gymnasium Master). For certain types of exercise that the palestra could not accommodate, trainers would take their students to the public exercise area, the *Gymnasion*.

The size of the building, interior arrangement, the amount and type of sculpture, as well as the inscriptions found inside or in the vicinity of the building, all lead to the conclusion that this was the private palestra and residence of Socrates son of Philocles, then *tutor*, referred to in inscriptions.

Sophilos son of Philocles from Eleusis, and Sokrates son of Sokrates Aigialeus, the founders and directors of the Palestra, were important personages in Delian society during the 2nd cent. BC. Around 150 BC Sokrates held the office of Market Inspector, and was honored by the Demos with a laurel wreath for exercising the obligations of his office "honorable, in worthy manner and in accordance with the laws and decisions of thy People". In 148 BC Socrates was a priest in the *Sacraurion* and was already wealthy enough to make costly offerings "for himself and for the *deities* of the Athenians and his children" and "for the Demos of the Athenians and the Demos of the Eleusines" thus flattening the two municipalities from which most of his students came. The Palestra had been operating at least since 133 BC, but in 125 BC Socrates appears as the sole owner. It is evident that the Palestra's fame spread very quickly because while the 133 BC catalogue of its graduates listed six youths, mainly Athenians, seven years later, in 126 BC, the eighteen youths who graduated came not only from Athens and Italy, but also from Asia Minor, Egypt, the surrounding Islands, Rhodes, Corinth, etc. Needless to say, his son Philogles son of Socrates from Athens also studied at this Palestra. The Palestra graduates, offspring of wealthy and powerful families, would later go on to play an important role in Delian society, make expensive offerings to the gods and gain public office. In the later decades of the 2nd cent. BC, having established its fame and ensured an adequate income, the Palestra initiated building renovations that included sumptuous decorations and the construction of an imposing peristyle, which remained half-finished.

It appears that the extensive athletic and educational centre of the city began in this quarter. Quite near the Socrates Palestra are two other Palestra: the Great Palestra (480) and the Fair Palestra (480), while at a distance of a few minutes on foot were the Hippodrome (480), the Gymnasium (480) and the Stadium (480).

The *Fair Palestra* (480) which was the earliest and occupied an area of 1,800 m², was built in the 3rd cent. BC and repaired and reorganized between 150-100 BC. The larger (2,000 m²) *Great Palestra* (480) was built in the 2nd cent. BC of granite from the quarries on the south side of the island. Both palestra consisted of a central courtyard with a colonnade, around which were colonnades, exercise areas, quadrigae for conversations, dressing rooms, cloakrooms, baths, latrines, etc. The palestra and the gymnasium were the centre of the male populace's social life. Men of all ages spent a great deal of time there: the days to exercise, the youths to train, the men to maintain their good physical condition, and the elders to sitmen or comment; and everybody to pick up news and engage in conversation. It is this palestra atmosphere that is frequently portrayed in the Platonic dialogues; it is characteristic that the innocent Socrates returns from Thessalia, he goes to the Palestra of Taitos to meet acquaintances and learn the news. He describes with admiration the entrance of the handsome Charonides into the palestra: "...although I am completely incapable of judging beautiful youths, before certainly all youths like Charonides to me, he looks superb with his height and beauty and appears that everybody must like him, such grace and composure and perturbation does he display on. Many older admirers were following behind him, and while this is not strange for so men, I noted that among the children, even the youngest one of them had eyes for anyone else, but were looking at him, as though he were some statue". Of course, those who could afford to spend hours sculpting their body every day in the palestra were mostly wealthy young aristocrats who did not need to work for their living, and it was such youths who in earlier times would discourse for hours with the Sophists and Socrates.

On both sides of the street are small shops and workshops, with private houses behind them. The small but tastefully simple *Lake House* (480) constitutes an exception, built on a single lot flanked on all four sides by walls. Completed in the last decades of the 2nd cent. BC, it was inhabited by at least two *prostatai* of

the same family, and was burned down in 180 BC. Two years later, in 167 BC, the workers and legions under Gaius Marius used what remained of the house to build the defensive Wall behind the Lake Palaestra. Eleven particularly elegant peristyle capitals were discovered incorporated into this wall, while the lustral basin was found in pieces in the cistern, together with marble myrrh-burners, column fragments, and fragments of the upper floor mosaics and wall paintings. The Wall (169) indicates how much the city had shrunk after the disaster, as it enclosed and protected only the area from the Skandaleas port to the theatre quarter, leaving outside the entire remaining city, the sanctuaries and commercial ports, which were apparently lying in ruins.

In 2002, in the large square in front of the Lake Palaestra, another market (47) was excavated, which, as the findings indicate, was the main market for wine from South Italy and Sicily, and for flour. The stores consist of one or two rooms with the primary entrance onto the main road and a secondary entrance onto the outdoor area at the back.

Large permanent installations for grinding cereal were discovered in two stores. Recently (July 2003), near the establishment of the bakers, another miller's shop was discovered, and an oven for baking bread, the first found on Delos to this day. Yannis Tsountas recalls that, in the neoclassical houses of Plaka in which he grew up "housemaids were still baking the bread,"¹² and the same must have been true in the aristocratic houses of Delos, judging from the findings and references in ancient writers. Remnants of portable hand-mill cereal mills¹³ were found in almost all the large houses. Small (flat-topped) cone-shaped ovens, made out of amphora shards, their interiors coated with clay and a single opening at the top were also found in many houses. It was not possible to bake bread or food in these ovens and they were probably used to bake flatbreads, which were placed against the walls.

The market was burned down in 180 AD during the raid of Athenodorus. The lamps and braziers (portable braziers for cooking and heat) were in use when the disaster occurred, indicating that Athenodorus and his pirates must have attacked on a winter night and taking the inhabitants by surprise, caught them totally unprepared. They probably landed at the nearby port of Skandaleas and set fire to the city's northern quarter, where wealthy Romans mainly resided, spreading panic. The building density, the narrow streets, the wooden roof supports and the stored oil would have ensured that the fire spread rapidly.

Whatever the pirates did not loot is still there on the badly burnt earthen floors, as it was abandoned by the last inhabitants who fled panicking in an effort to escape. In one large shop, buried under its caved-in roof tiles, large amphorae that judging from their shape must have once contained wine from South Italy and Sicily, are still in their proper place. Next door, in a miller's shop stood the large earthenware jars (*pithoi*) that contained wheat and flour. Many bronze combs, apparently the miller's savings, were found under the threshold. The lamps still bear blackened wick marks, and cooking pots, dishes and cups are lying on the ground. The turned bunkers look as though they were abandoned just yesterday by their shopkeepers and customers.

Between the Trireme Wall and the Sacred Lake is an archaic marble altar (51), which is thought to be the renowned altar of Apollo Cenacor, the only altar on which bloodless sacrifices took place, but the identification is not at all certain. Likewise, it is most doubtful that the neighboring small temple was dedicated to Anubis, nor do we know what deity was rechristened in the large sanctuary (52) east of the Agora of the Italians. The base of the cult statue is still standing in the temple cells, as is the marble sacrificial altar in front of the temple. It may have been a sanctuary of Aphrodite or of Artemis Selene.

The ancient Hippodrome (53), which has yet to be excavated, is calculated to have been on the flat expanse north of the modern track bar, while further east is the Archegesion (50), the sanctuary of Anubis, the冥界 king, and cult centre of Delos, to which strangers were forbidden entry, according to an inscription on the lintel over the entrance.

The Gymnasion (55) was built in the early 3rd cent. BC., later renovated by the Athenians and destroyed in 289 BC. It consists of a large rectangular peristyle court, around which the necessary facilities for the exercise and education of youths were located. On the north side is the Epiptoleion, a large hall that opened onto the peristyle, with marble benches for approximately 70 people. Two wealthy Athenians paid for the benches: Athenagoras and Zenon, son of Athenagoras, of Athens dedicated them to Apollo (ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΖΕΝΟΥ ΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΠΤΟΛΕΙΟΝ). The Epiptoleion, or Rostrum was the official hall of the Gymnasium, where

meetings, discussions and instruction were held. Many of the benches in the Delos Gymnasium are covered with graffiti by the youths who sat on them, something they have in common with desks in contemporary schools. Two of the forms discovered there are also completely covered with similar graffiti. Corresponding carvings have also been found in other Palaestrae¹¹ (in Delos and in other cities too), dozens of inscriptions were found on the rocks around the Gymnasium of ancient Thera¹². With amazing diversity and patience, the youths of Delos and their admirers carved human figures, wreaths, ships, vessels, Cupids, and wrote their names over and over, proclaiming their friendship or their love. Ariades and Lysias, Archias and Diogenes, Athanatos and Damon, Cimonides and Leontes, Iunysius and Glaucon are friends (4410). Medea and Theseus, who carved their names five times, are eternal friends (and death, others are necessary to each other, inseparably correlated (XANTHAKOS) and yet others simply carved under their name the words of Eurip. (4421). In Phoenicia Antenor the defender of unspilled love states: "...this love of ours lacks moderation; it resembles an illegitimate and breeding cow, and despite the fact that her eyes tear, here at every elderly parent, attempts to cast out the legitimate elder. Truly, just yesterday on the day before he crept secretly into the Gymnasium, drawn by those exercises which cause youth to remove their clothing and begin, in supposed innocence to embrace and rub himself against them. Their shyness, in the pederastic hearings grows stronger, to the extent that no one could restrain him any longer, before scylla and charybdis die, which is our accomplishment to immortality, since it is with them that the flower of the human race remains alight..." On Delos, those who upon completing their 18th year were eligible for inscription in the Hermae registry, would make votive offerings to Apollo, Hermes and Hercules; in the Gymnasium, as the inscriptions testify, there was also a statue of Zeus. Athenaeus reports that at the Academy, the Gymnasium where Plato gathered his students, the Athenians had also erected the statue of Zeus, to whom they offered sacrifices as they did to Athena. The main entrance to the Gymnasium on the south side is flanked by marble benches. There are also marble benches in two side exedrae. These areas corresponded to the earlier sitting-out areas described in the Platonic dialogues.¹³ In a similar hall Socrates conversed with Lysis, Menexenus, Hippothales, Charmides, Cratippus, Cleonias and the other learned and virtuous youths of his era, and it was there that the Sophists would find an eager audience. During the Hellenistic era, the changing room was inside the Gymnasium, but these outdoor ovoides continued to exist as places where friends would rest, meet and talk.

Next to the Gymnasium is the *Xystus*¹⁴ an oblong paved area (180 x 7 meters) where young men would train for hunting. Ptolemy IV's Sister II contributed funds to build the Xystus and the inscription reveals that he dedicated it to "Apollo, to the Heroes of the Athenians and to young men". Ptolemy IV was a typical example of this singular family and the age he lived in. He first married his sister Cleopatra IV, then his second sister Cleopatra Selene, and finally his mistress with whom he had four children. Later, after marrying her brother, Cleopatra Selene married successively Antiochus III, Antiochus IX, and Antiochus XI until she was murdered in 69 BC in Seleucia on the Euphrates. The Ptolemies very early became aware of the potential of Delos' geographic position and were most generous to the Senate.

The Stadium (61) was built during the early decades of the 3rd cent. BC beginning with the construction of large embankments on the site and a strong retaining wall to the east.

Below the Stadium is yet another partially excavated quarter of the ancient city (62) that includes the Synagogue (62D), a 1st cent. BC building that was in use up to and including the 2nd cent. AD on the east. In its two adjoining porticoed halls are marble benches and a wonderful marble throne, originally from the theater orchestra, brought there after the theater was destroyed. In the same room there still exists one of the many lime kilns that for decades were used to convert the marble parts of the ancient buildings into lime. From the beginning, the island's intense commercial activity attracted a good many Jews. In their Greek inscriptions they unflinchingly emphasise that they worship God on Mount Gerizim i.e., they were Samaritans.



Above: Reconstruction of the Minos Fountain colonnade (H. Gauke - H. Heuser, TMT and Helga, in between H. Lauter)



The photograph, exhibited in 2013 in the exhibition *Das Goldene Jahr*, a painting of Herakles after painted by Stefan Quapp.

THE AREA EAST OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE SANCTUARIES OF NYXIES

Outside

the east end of the Portico of Antiquities is the Minos Fountain (55), a raised public fountain hewn out of the natural granite. Access to the water was provided via a staircase with eleven steps. In the centre of the third step the column that supported the building's hipped roof is still standing. The structure was walled on three sides, while the fourth, the south side had an open portion with small Doric columns. The fountain was built in the mid-6th cent. BC and repaired in the mid-2nd cent. BC. A relief found there depicts a river god and three nymphs, whom the dedicatory inscriptions refer to as Minian Nymphs, a name which may suggest the identity of a Minian settlement on the island.

On the opposite side of the street is the Stibadium (56) a small "temple" to Dionysus in the form of a simple exedra. To the left and right of the "temple", upon tall marble bases are two huge phalluses, sacred symbols of the Dionysian cult. Reliefs decorate three sides of the south base: a satyr with a phallus-shaped head in the center, to the right a Satyr carrying a kestros precedes a drunken Dionysus supported by a Maenad, and to the left Dionysus again with a Maenad and Pan. The monument was dedicated to the god patron of the theatre, by Karystios, son of Asbolos, who had sponsored a victorious play (c. 300 BC). Near the temple many stone phalluses were found, one of which was placed on the base of Karyatis, which had most likely supported a similar votive offering. The exedra was created in the 2nd cent. BC, at which time a second phallus was probably placed symmetrically at the other end. In the exedra was a nude statue of Dionysus seated indolently upon a thymele, between two statues of satyrs in Hippolytus costume. All three statues date to the late 2nd cent. BC.

Dionysus – the god of the creative power that fertilizes nature, he who by granting humanity the divine gift of the vine, allowed man to become equal. If only for a short while, all the gods – was extremely popular on Delos as well as on neighbouring Mykonos. He was worshipped all over Greece under some 150 different epithets, which declared his power and attributes. On Delos and Mykonos he was worshipped as Laros (god of the grape harvest), and Bacchus (god of mystical drunkenness and orgastic ecstasy). He was depicted

ed in many statues, reliefs and mosaics made and crowned with vines or ivy, always accompanied by his happy entourage. Phocas, a lifelong priest of Apollo at Delphi, reports that the Delphic sanctuary belonged equally to Diogenes and Apollo.⁷¹ Delos always belonged solely to Apollo and Mykonos to Dionysos, but on both islands the two gods were worshipped equally. The important sanctuary of Apollo Heliopolitan was discovered just last year on Mykonos and Diogenes was exceedingly popular on Delos. Despite their opposite characters, the two brothers collaborated and co-exist harmoniously, the one supplementing the other. "One is called *Heliotes*, after the perfect clarity of light and the other *Dionysos*. *Narcissus* and *bacchantes*. *Dolymenides*, full of passion, upbeats, *wanderings* and *adventures* are said to belong to *Apollo*, while the *restored* and *new* *jean* is *belonged* to *Apollo*. *Apollo* is considered *ageless* and *eternally* *young*, while *Dionysos* is depicted in *many* *forms*, in general *Apollo* is *endowed* with *stable* *rounded* *body* and *powerful* *grasp*. *Dionysos* is *endowed* with *childish* *weakish* *formations*, *powerful* *roundness*, he is called *drunken*, *fat* and *leaden* *intoxicated* and *arrogant* with *the* *originals*.⁷² In the month of Gamelion (January-February) the inhabitants of Delos celebrated the *Lentean* festival honouring Thunysos. During the Period of Independence, in the month of Galaxias (March-April) they celebrated the *Ilymnia* with processions, musical contests and performances of tragedies and comedies. On the 12th of the month, a procession made its way from the god's altar to the theatre. A central element of this procession was the painted wooden statue of a cockerel with a phallus-shaped head hauled on a cart by workmen. Statues of *babous* roosts, symbolizing the protective powers of the god who was worshipped as *Thunysos* *Phallos*, were found near the small temple.

The *Museum* (66) and snack bar (27) were built early in the 20th century on the ruins of a wealthy quarter of the city, of which only the facade of a row of shops opposite the *Sacred* *pyrion* have been excavated. In front of the shops a portico with columns made of either granite or coarse-grained marble shielded customers from sun or rain. A stone-carver's workshop was located in the last building (68), on a wealthy house that had been abandoned after the devastation of 58 BC. Among other unfinished sculptures found here is the grave stele for a cornstaph ordered by the friends of Herdon who was lost at sea. The corner shop is a rare example of a door that opens outward, which was forbidden as it was a hazard to passersby.

On the opposite side of the narrow street is a strange small temple (65) possibly dedicated to Hermes, the god of trade and protector of this commercial district. Within the inner of the two rooms was a herma of the god; in front of it stood a marble table to receive the offerings of the faithful, only the legs of which have survived. The metal railing placed between the inner room and the outer room that opened onto the street may have served to protect these offerings.

Hermes was the busiest of all the Olympian gods since he was simultaneously *runner*, *phylasmaking* and *thief*, the patron of *merchants*, *thieves* and *wayfarers*, messenger of the gods, and conductor of souls. Also born to Zeus out of wedlock - that of Zeus' legitimate children were worshipped on Delos - he associated amicably with his half-siblings. He was worshipped in the *Gymnasium* and *Palaestras* along with Apollo and Hercules, while together mainly with Aphrodite but also with Apollo and Hercules, he was the patron of market inspectors, law enforcers, olive sellers, wine sellers, and merchants in general. Although many small temples were dedicated to his cult there is neither reference to nor evidence of any statues of Hermes, other than the herms found all over the city, on streets, squares and in private and public buildings. To date, 265 herms have been discovered, of which only a scant number are intact. Most (191) are simple square pillars, of the type created in Athens, bearing the head of Hermes, or Hercules, of *Hermaphroditus*, the portrait of an athlete, or, in rare instances, the head of a *Styx*. Many (52) consist of a torso dressed in a chiton, himation, or lionskin, the lower part of which terminates in a sickle, and depict Hercules, Harpooners, Hermaphroditus, Priapus, Silenus, and Solys. A few (6) consist of a nude torso depicting either a Soly or Hermaphroditus.

The street leads to a small stone-paved square in the center of which is a circular marble 3rd cent. BC monument dedicated to the worship of the ancestors of the Pyrrhaeidae family of Athens. Almost a millennium later, in the 5th cent. AD, the three-nested early Christian basilica of St. *Kirklas* the *Martyr* (60), was built on the ruins of the ancient houses using marble from the ancient votive offerings. The *cantharoi*, tiered seats for the priests, and sections of the altar were found in the sanctuary, while parts of the marble pulpit were preserved in the nave.

A modern path over the unexcavated area of the city leads to the *Aphrodision* (67). The small marble temple was dedicated to the goddess by the Delian archon Sisicles in 303/2 BC and consists of a vestibule and a cella. Inside the vestibule, was a marble bench on the left, and in the cella the marble cult statue of the

goddes holding a gold-plated wooden board, another of Steleos' offerings. On bases to the left and right of the entrance, were statues of his mother and father. Later Steleos' daughter Elenice donated the sum of 3000 drachmas to the temple to fund animal sacrifices to Aphrodite and Apollo. The remains of the goddes' altar can still be seen in front of the temple, and offerings are still placed there to this day, usually flowers or fruit.

The Sanctuary accounts frequently list expenditure for the paying, maintenance and adornment of the statue and temple of the Goddess, and make careful note of the precious votive offerings kept in the temple and in the tabii; marble tables, bronze incense burners, many statues and statuettes of Aphrodite and Eros, white veiled chitons, gold jewelry, paintings, bronze mirrors, gold cups, glass bottles of perfume, etc.

The equally popular Eros was worshipped in the Gymnasium but did not have his own sanctuary, perhaps because Eros cannot exist without Aphrodite, as Plutarch writes in the *Erysikos*: "...and if, as Helleges says, there is no relation between the love of boys and parental love, then surely this Eros must either Aphrodite, since for gods assigned him to serve and care for her alone, and from her to receive as much power and glory as she permits! And should there be an Eros without Aphrodite, like incubation without sleep, but rather with a dash of fury and darkness, he would be a foolish, gloomy and easily angry."

Of the approximately 30000 representations that have been preserved on the clay seal imprints from the House of Seals, more than 2000 depict Eros in the form in which he was known in the Hellenistic era: a young winged boy equipped with a quiver and arrows, cunning, mischievous and cruel, a trial to gods and mortals alike.

He is often depicted playing the lyre while seated on the back of a dolphin. As companion to the Muses and Graces, Eros was especially fond of music, song and dance, because it is mainly through these means that mortals express, pursue, achieve, appease, intensify, sweeten or cure his sacred madness. It is he who makes poets even of those inferior tragedists." As early as the classical era, Eros was surrounded with a variety of musical instruments, mainly the lyre, but also cithara, kithara (a musical instrument of many strings), pipes, drums, cymbals and triangle. He rarely played the syrinx, perhaps because the syrinx, being the musical instrument of shepherds, is associated with its mouthpiece, Pan. The boorish, indecent and sexually insatiable Pan, who cared only for the pleasures of the flesh, frequently came into conflict with Eros who employed other means to secure his conquests. The few depictions of Pan with a syrinx are found in later antiquity, when Pan through the interpretations of the Stoics and the Hippies was elevated to the status of Great Pan, the personification of all the powers of nature.

One of the two statues that stood in the Gymnasium depicted the god with the lion's skin and club of Hercules, the official god of the Gymnasium, whom Eros had apparently despised and ousted aside. Seal imprints frequently show Eros victorious over the hero, disarming him, capturing and tormenting him, since even Hercules, the mightiest of mortals, was unable to resist Eros' power and was pounced by Cupids. At other times Eros is seen crowning Hercules as champion. The hero, in one night slept with the 50 virgin daughters of Thespius, who gave him 50 sons, making him second after Poseidon in fathering children and in wedlock, a total of 80!

However, most of the representations on the seals are allegorical references to the trials of Psyche [soul] who is depicted in the form of a young girl or as a butterfly-nymph. Eros follows her, pursues her, tries to tempt her, captures her, embraces her and loves her; he directs and governs her, or tortures her, blows hot and cold, hits, pierces her with a spit and sharply masts her. These torments of Psyche are described in a Homeric hymn:

...and there, you fall into the fire. Why do you struggle needlessly now
against your bindings? Psycho has forced your wings
and cast you into the fire. With Mars did he snare your feet
and cover them with a burning sheet of iron.
My tortured Psyche! You form of flesh
and human life! such that you can hardly breath.

METAMORPHOSIS, 1st book, 14

Eros, being the son of the sea-born Aphrodite, had a special affection for marine activities. In the seals, as well as in other Hellenistic representations, he often appears as a fisherman, or as the fisherman of popular crafts, depictions which allegorically allude to his ability to capture and rule human souls.

The Cupid is my huntingman, thus in his hands
Rests the ruler and master of my soul

Hesiod, 1st cent. BC

There are fewer depictions where the roles are reversed and it is Psyche who captures and torments Eros. Even fewer are the scenes showing a happy end: the two embracing, kissing each other on the lips.

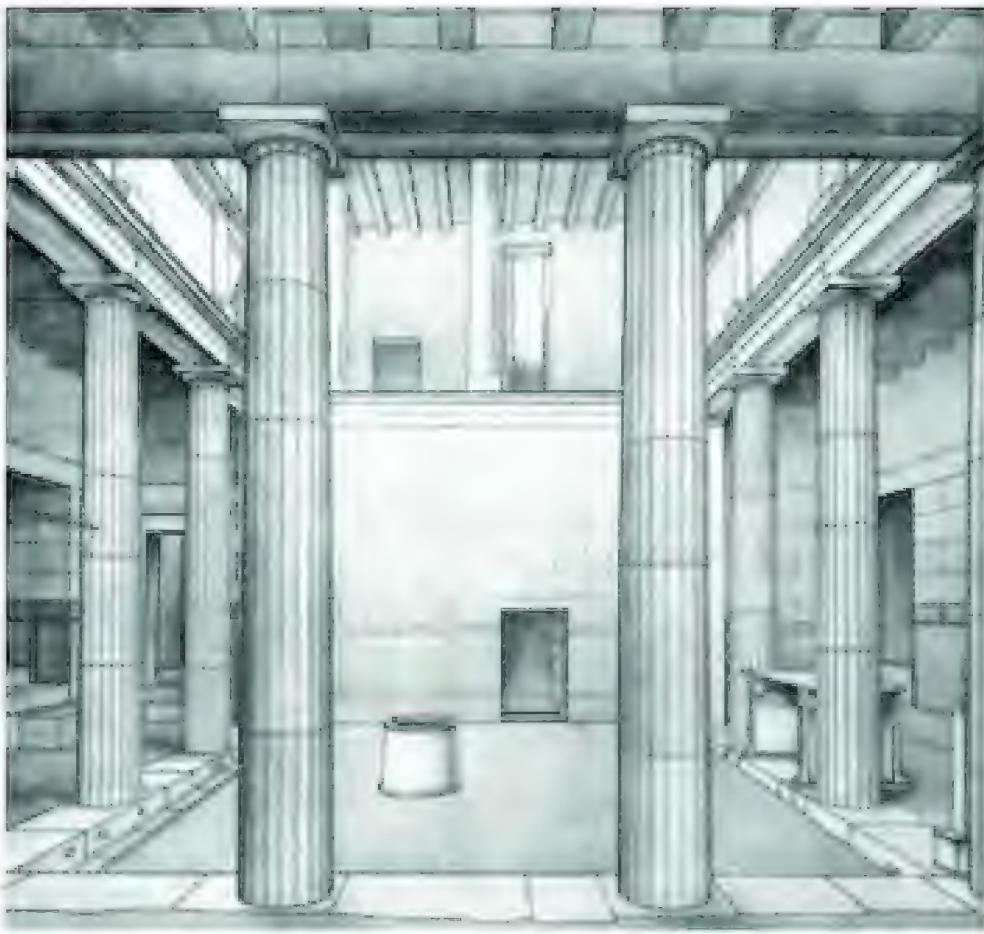
Also linked to Aphrodite and Eros is Hermaphroditus, son of Aphrodite and Hermes, who inherited the flaws in beauty of both his parents. The nymph of the Salmacis Spring fell wildly in love with him and embracing him closely, was joined with him, giving him female characteristics as well. Originally, Hermaphroditus, an eastern deity who came to Greece via Cyprus, represented a primal human being, superior and perfect, in whom both genders coexisted and who could reproduce himself. Such beings exist in all religions, and this is the idea that Aristophanes develops in Plato's *Symposium*; such a being is alluded to in the creation of Laius or Eve from Adam's rib; it was Hercules who first depicted beautiful eunuch youths with soft virginal bodies, actualizing his own erotic fantasies as well as those of his male clientele. His statue of Apollo and Diomede, but especially those of Solyr and the Thespian Eros, the work he loved most,¹¹ had intensely feminine features. If his Cnidian Aphrodite was the most famous and beloved of his statues, it was because her sensuality appealed to a broader audience:

"After enjoying the plants of the gardens we entered the temple. The goddess stands in the centre—an exquisite statue of Iranian marble—smiling faintly, pensively, with parted lips. No garment hides her beauty, which is fully revealed, save for that place which out of modesty she has to cover with her hand. So great was the sculptor's art that the hand and tiny living marble shaped itself to the depiction of such limbs. Hercules then let out a wild cry full of glee and said: "When others have suffered and bowed because of me, was the happiest of all the gods." He ran forward and stretching up his neck began kissing the goddess inevitably wherever he could. Hercules stood silent in speechless admiration. The temple has doors on both sides, for these also wish to see the goddess from the rear as well... When the door opened her beauty dissolved in and the Athenian, who up until that moment had been indifferent, upon seeing the buttocks of the goddess, which resembled those of a boy, forthwith more inspired than that old Hercules, exulted: "Hercules, what harmonious proportions it has! What the rest! What lust! Look, they fill the heads embracing! How beautifully the buttocks curve, neither fleshless, clinging to the bones, nor again corpulent. And these parts sealed on both sides by the buttocks, how sweetly they mould them! How tough, so skin, to make the proportions are perfect! Thus in the heavens does Ganymede appear as he seems to Zeus, making a sacrifice."

During the Hellenistic era, a period of erotic saturation when affirmative sources of entertainment were being sought, there were many more explicit depictions of lesser boys with intensely feminine features. Artists were no longer satisfied with hints, and rather than depicting a boy with effeminate features, they depict a young maiden with the genitalia of a youth. Hermaphroditus was a very popular subject in Alexandria and Delos, cities where a laissez-faire mentality reigned and, because of their cosmopolitan character, the standards of social behavior were flexible enough to allow everyone to follow their heart's desires.

The depictions of Priapus, according to one tradition the son of Aphrodite by Diktyos, are different. Priapus was the patron god of gardens, fields, vineyards, lands, and bees. His huge phallus, which made him dangerously attractive to the women of Lampacus, was a symbol of fertility, while testicles were sometimes added to stress his generative power.

The House of the Flute (188), a multi-storeyed building excavated in 1969-1970, was literally the first Delian residence to yield significant findings and information, thanks to the distinguished French archaeologist Jean Marquardt. On the ground floor, to the immediate left of the entrance, is the latrine and at the end of the corridor a bathing chamber with a small clay bathtub and a bench for bathers to leave their clothing on. On the south side of the atrium are two recesses hewn out of the natural rock, from which water issues, still to this day. The water from the reservoir, as well as rainwater from the roof, was collected in the under-



The atrium of the House of the Masks (G. Mecenate + V. Rizzo 1992)

ground cistern under the atrium and drawn from the well in its center. It was here that the beautiful statue of a nymph, statues of Artemis, Aphrodite, Tyche and Hercules, many heroes – hence the building's name – and a marble offerings table were found. The atrium has marble colonnades on three sides. On the north side of the atrium is the Oikos, with two small bedchambers (or *securae* storerooms) behind it; the layout is identical to that of the Lake House and other Delos dwellings. A smaller oikos on the east side of the atrium was reserved for more private dining. Two stone stairways led to the first story, one directly, the other passing first through a type of *circusmaeum*. The first floor replicated the ground floor peristyle layout, while the remaining floors followed a terraced arrangement up the side of the hill. It is uncertain whether this was the residence of a wealthy family or whether it was the *leitir* (headquarters) of some society.

Scapheion A little farther along, on a lower level is the Scapheion A 57B, the earliest sanctuary of the god Sarapis, established around 320 BC. As in the other two Sarapiaria, the god was worshipped here in conjunction with Iao, Anubis and later, Horus, known to the Greeks as Harpoön.

Marble benches serving the gathering of the faithful run along the walls in one hall. An inscription on the front of the benches gives the name of the donor, a practice that continues to this day on church pews:

"Museum of Antebes, and Soledad, daughter of Zogues, from Iles, infants the 21 Simple, & 22 and amidst, for the children" (לְמִזְבֵּחַ אֶת-בָּנָי מִצְבֵּחַ אֶת-בָּנָי מִצְבֵּחַ אֶת-בָּנָי מִצְבֵּחַ אֶת-בָּנָי מִצְבֵּחַ). The temple is located in a small tidal cove, over an underground channel²¹ which used to fill with the sacred waters of the Isopis used in ritual cleansing. The myth that the Isopis River communicated underground with the Nile, where waters were necessary for the rituals of the Egyptian sanctuaries, may have been created precisely to serve these needs. Despite the establishment of her other Sanctuaries, this earliest sanctuary of the god continued to function until the destruction of Tyre.

An inscription with a lengthy verse account¹ carved into a small marble column narrates Karapis' arrival on Delos in great detail, and the difficulties the priest encountered when attempting to establish the sanctuary on that site. The god appeared to him in a dream, demanding that a temple be established on a specific lot. But there were objections, possibly from the priests, perhaps because the god, by selecting one of the highest spots on the island for his temple, was inspiring to appear as the major god and patron of the land, overshadowing Apollo.

The tale is told by the priest Apollonius and retold by Meister, poetically, grandiloquently and garnishingly requiring twice as many lines as Apollonius. Later the god again intervened to steal his sanctuary. This time the miraculous intervention came in the form of a Roman Senate decree, which was also sent to the Demos of the Athenians. Sarapis used to appear to his talkers in dreams, as the saints did later, demanding that his wishes be fulfilled. The inscriptions on votive offerings explain that they were dictated "by order of the god." It was in a dream that he appeared to Ptolemy I Soter to demand that "his statue" be transferred to Alexandria as quickly as possible. This new god was an inspiration of Ptolemy who, continuing the policy of Alexander, wanted to create a god common to both Egyptians and Greeks in an attempt to unify his kingdom's subjects in the worship of a god acceptable to all. The God assumed the form of the divine bull (Bos-Euphi), took on certain attributes of Osiris, Zeus, Aesculapius and Dionysos, and the form of Pluto, whose state he appropriated. The Pharaohs were so successful in promoting their creation that very soon Sarapis became a universal god, and on Delos, the center of the traditional Greek religion, he acquired three important sanctuaries. By gathering unto himself the domains of most of the male deities, appearing compassionate and mystical, but at the same time magnificent, a just Father-Protector, Sarapis prepared the way for the passage from polytheism to monotheism and constitutes the model for the depiction of the Hassakah. The same occurred with Isis, his divine consort, who appropriated the domains of all the female deities.

"I am she (that) is the naturall mother of all things, mistress and governess of all the Elements, the initiall property of worlds, shife of powers divine. Queen of heaven, the principall of the Gods celestiall, the light of the goddesse of my will the planets of the syre, the wholesome winds of the Seas, and the elements of hell be disposed; my name, my diancy is adored throughout all the world in divers names, in variable costumes and in many names. In the Phrygians call me the mother of the Gods; the Attirians, Meheres; the Cyprians, Venus; the Charians, Diana; the Sophrans (Sophrana); the Elysians, Venus sacerdotess; other Hellens, ether Hyleas; and principally the Thracians which dwell in the Orient, and the Asyrians which are engagid in all kind of poison dronke, and by their proper preuentives accedentie keepe them free, doe call mee Queene Issa."²²

The reservoir of the Banpo (II) built in the 2nd cent. BC beside the Sarapuon A was 40 m. long and between eight and ten m. wide. The its earth side is a lime stonewall with 21 marble steps leading down to the water level, making it easier to draw. The landing is surrounded by a well-constructed marble wall. There is a second reservoir higher up before the Sarapuon C.

On the hillside above the Acropolis is the Sounionion (72), a sanctuary dedicated to the Cabiri, the Great Gods of Samothrace, who were later identified with the Dioccuri Castor and Pollux, sons of Leucippus of the mortal Helen, Menelaos's wife, and the mortal Clytemnestra, wife of Agamemnon. When Castor, the mortal son of Tyndareus, was killed, Pollux implored his father Zeus to allow him to share his immortality with his beloved brother so that each of them could spend one day in Hades and one on Olympus. Zeus placed the two brothers in the heavens, creating the constellation of Gemini (Twins). The Dioccuri protected and guided sailors, and their symbols, two wreathed caps surmounted by a star, are frequently found in houses on Dikes.



The Sebasteion and the Monument of Mithridates at Aphrodisias, 1960

A broad stairway leads from the river bank to the temple, a 4th cent. BC building on whose east side was a portico with four Ionic columns between pilasters, in the 2nd cent. BC a niche was added on the south side, and in 100 BC a monument was erected on the north side to King Mithridates I of Pontus, a square, open hall with two Ionic columns between pilasters on the facade. In the tympanum of the pediment was a bust in a disk. Another twelve circular busts, representing Mithridates' generals, created a kind of frieze inside the monument. The heads of all the busts are missing and it is believed that they were destroyed after 180 AD in an act of vengeance. At the back of the monument was a statue of Mithridates-Iasius, an offering by the Athenian poet Iasius. The circular base in front of the temple once supported a round columnar pillar, parts of which have fallen down by the side.

Opposite the Sarapeion are several private houses and shrines (B2). House A is a spacious residence with a half-completed peristyle on two sides of its atrium. A marble base outside the house, bearing the inscription Μικρασιατος, supported a chariot monument in the shape of a phaeton. Seven steps lead to the Sarapeion (H 173), a private shrine belonging to Egyptian merchants and built in c. 300 BC.

On the terrace above the second Sarapeion (B3) are the sanctuaries of the Syrian and Egyptian Gods separated by a transverse wall. In the Sanctuary of the Syrian (Mithras) (380-370), Alaranta, identified with Aphrodite, was worshipped together with her companion Hadad, a god akin to Zeus. The sanctuary was probably established in the mid-second century BC, initially as a private shrine and then, from the last decade of the 3rd cent. until its destruction 188 BC, as the official Sanctuary of the Syrian gods. Access was initially from the south side, up a flight of stairs leading to the propylaea. To the right was the older part of the sanctuary, a square court surrounded by buildings, on the south side of which were the temples of the gods. Just before 100 BC, the Sanctuary was extended and occupied the entire northern part of the terrace; it was then that a new propylaeum (gate) was built on the north side, as the main entrance. Between the two gateways a long exedra was created, with a colonnade on the west side and a small throne on the east. In the centre of the site is an exedra dedicated according to the inscriptions on the mosaic floor, by the Athenians Midas, right opposite, on the west side of the street there is a small theatre for an audience of between 400 and 500, with a portico in the shape of a U around the upper part, which appears to have been used for religious mysteries and ceremonies. In some other rooms on the same terrace, ceremonial banquets were held.

The south part of the terrace is occupied by the third Sarapeion (C) (250), which was the official sanctuary of the Egyptian gods after about 180 BC. An imposing gateway on the SE led to an oblong, colonnaded space. From the little temple in the south, a stone-paved avenue 70 m long, flanked by two rows of square altars alternating with sphinxes, led to a square colonnaded court in which were the temples of the gods. The temple of Sarapis, on the north side of the court, consisted of a square cella and a portico with four columns. In front of the temple, part of the altar of the god has been preserved. The partially restored temple of Isis on the east side was built in the early 3rd cent. BC and repaired in 130 BC by the Athenians. The tympanum of the pediment was adorned by a bust, broken today. The female figure on the acanthi-

one probably represents Nete. The temple is in the Doric order, with two columns between pilasters. At the back of the cella is the immobile cult statue of the goddess, dedicated in 129 BC by the Athenians; her high altar, which has been preserved in good condition, is in front of the temple.

The Egyptian goddess Isis was introduced into the Hellenistic pantheon as early as the 6th cent. BC, but her cult was disseminated mainly after Egypt was conquered by Alexander the Great and the Kingdom of the Ptolemies was established. Alexander himself, when planning Alexandria, designated the site on which the temples of the Hellenic gods were to be built as well as that of the Egyptian goddess Isis,¹² who by about the 2nd-3rd cent. BC had been Hellenized and was depicted in the type of the other Greek goddesses, like multicoloured garments symbolised light and darkness, fire and water, life and death, beginning and end; in one hand she held the sceptre with which she regulated the ebb and flood tides of the Nile, and in the other a cornucopia, symbol of plenty. After the Alexandrine years, Isis was worshipped as a maritime deity, inventress of the sail, patron divinity of seafarers, "Mistress of the Winds", "Mistress of Navigation", according to hymns from Rhyme and Andros. Her cult lasted until the 1st cent. AD, and even today, as one can see on the Internet, the goddess still has a priesthood and thousands of devotees. Isis was particularly popular in the Hellenistic period because she was a compassionate goddess, affectionate as a mother, the "refuge of the distressed", in whom everybody found comfort for their earthly tribulations and hope for life after death.



"Immortal and lady protectress of the human race, you who always seek to educate, who give a mother's love to unhappy people, who listen for them at least of a mother's love to everybody who proclaims earth and at sea, who dissolve the tempests of life, who help us even when we are being harassed by fate, who stop evil and turn away the bad influence of the stars. Heaven worships you! Hades admiringly regards you; you have the sphere, you light the sun and move the universe; at your feet is Tartarus; the stars obey you and you give new life in their brightness, you bring the seasons, you determine the elements; because of you winds blow, clouds gather, seeds germinate and ripen. The birds that inhale the air, the animals that ram the mountains, the snakes that crawl on the earth, the monsters that swim in the sea all tremble before your power..."¹³

Images of Isis nursing little Horus were the model for the representation of the Madonna and Child.

A significant seamen's feast in honour of Isis, called *plougheria* by the Greeks, or *Isatis nauticum* by the Romans, survived until the 6th cent. AD. The feast started in Alexandria, but was celebrated in many places and certainly in Delos, which always had close relations with the kingdom of the Ptolemies, and where the goddess was especially popular. At the beginning of March, when sea voyages would begin again, the statue of the goddess was transferred to a lasciviously decorated ship which would leave the port accompanied by oarsmen, and return after a journey of a few hours. An image carved on the wall of the House of Master Koinos depicting a female deity on a ship, may possibly represent this ceremony. This ritual "blessing of the waters" continues up to the present day in a similar way. At Megalochori on neighbouring Syros, on the feast of the Panigia Thalassini (Virgin of the Sea), the same ceremony is held. The icon of the Virgin of the Sea, accompanied by priests and the faithful, is carried in richly decorated caskets that sail out of the port surrounded by noisy, other, festively adorned craft. After a brief stop during which hymns and prayers to the Virgin are sung, the procession returns to the port and the boat is then taken back to the church.

On Delos, Isis was worshipped as Melia, Semeia, Kaptoia, Tisikia, and Hylegia. Seamen's prayers were addressed to her, at Aphrodite, to Hera, to the Heraeum and to Poseidon, as were the thanks of those who were saved from storms or pirates. Beside the temple of Isis there was another, smaller temple, dedi-



In morning Harpocrates (left) and
Isis (right) from the House of Queen Nitocris (G. Reisch, 1987).
The goddesses are characteristic dress and crown outside the room at the centre
of the decorated shop with her arms open like hands (1st cent. BC).

related to Sopdu, Isis, Harpocrates and Anubis. Harpocrates (Harpo-khnum) was the son of Osiris and Isis the young sun which, upon rising, scatters the darkness of night and conquers the family enemy Set. In Egyptian representations Harpocrates was depicted with his finger on his mouth, and although indicating simply that the god was in his childhood, the gesture was misinterpreted by the Greeks and seen as a symbol of confidentiality and silence.⁷⁷ Jackal-headed Anubis is the guard of graves and conductor of souls; he is the one invoked for deceased loved ones. He conducts souls to the other world with heart already beat through the ordeal of judgement and found clean; he takes them to Osiris to weigh their hearts. Loyal to the family, he followed the exiled Isis to the swamps of the Delta and embalmed the dead Osiris.

Above the Sarapeum E is the Heliopolitan temple, sanctuary of Zeus's lawful wife Hera, some distance away from that of her rival. The older temple, built in the 7th cent. BC, was decently preserved under the elevated floor of the more magnificent later temple erected in about 500 BC. Inside and outside the older temple were found some 1,200 buried vases and terracotta figurines, or fragments of such items, offerings to the goddess. The later Doric temple was surrounded by a precinct. South of the temple is the marble altar of the goddess. The sanctuary of Hera, the richest and most important of the sanctuaries on Delos in the archaic period, fell into decline in the Hellenistic period, together with the values expressed by the goddess.

The Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune) (77) consists of an oblong court flanked by two porticos, a small temple and rooms of unknown use. It has been identified as the Philadelphion, a sanctuary dedicated to the worship of Arsinoe, the sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285/246 BC), represented as Agathe Tyche, with a cornucopia in her left hand.

From some distance away, one can make out the enormous granite slabs used to seal the Grotto (78) that was created in a natural cavity in the rock, and closed in front by a wall. A door with a marble traffic barrier in the interior that has been left in its natural state. In the centre of this small space is a granite pedestal on which parts of a Hellenistic statue of Heracles were found, with a table for offerings in front of it. In the little court outside, there were two tables that were probably used for ceremonial meals as well as a large cylindrical altar. The grotto impressed early travellers who regarded it as the most ancient temple of Apollo. But it is in fact a Hellenistic sanctuary of Heracles, probably also founded by Ptolemy II to honour his legendary ancestor. Heracles was the first seafarer, the first hero to sail the seas and tame the ocean. Most of his adversaries, as can be seen in the table below, were the sons of giants or of Poseidon, god of the sea.

The myths surrounding Heracles reflect the successful efforts by the Greeks to tame and ply the seas, and his feats symbolise the obstacles they encountered and overcame. If Theseus cleared the way from Thessaloniki to Athens and made it safe to travel inland, Heracles opened the roads to the world, making sea voyages

surer and shorter, since it was he who opened the strait of Gibraltar. For this reason, especially in the later Hellenistic years, Hercules was worshipped as the protecting divinity of seafarers. In Hellenistic Delos, Hercules was the second most popular divinity after Aphrodite. The masters of the "Master of Seas", bankers and merchants whose wealth depended on safe voyages for their ships, turned likewise not only to Zeus, Apollo and Poseidon, but also to Hercules the Sea-God, considering him an equal of the great gods.

In his adventures, Hercules defeated and killed:

Antaeus, king of Libya son of Poseidon	Iphitos, guardian of Peleus' chariot
Bentus, king of Egypt son of Poseidon	Perseus, son of Jove and by Andromeda
Cyrene, king of Libya son of Poseidon	Hesione, mortal companion of Perseus
Syrene, king of Libya son of Poseidon	Nerean, mortal companion of Perseus
Syphax, king of Numidia son of Poseidon	Gorgon, mortal companion of Perseus
Typhon, king of Libya son of Poseidon	Zetes and Calisto sons of Poseidon
Amphion, giant of Boeotia son of Zeus	Hephaestus, God of the underworld (first husband of Aphrodite)
Antaeus, giant of Libya son of Poseidon	Thetis, Nereid, Neptune's daughter and wife
Antaeus, giant of Libya son of Poseidon	Leucippus, King of the Colchians
Antaeus, giant of Libya son of Poseidon	Europa, Queen of Crete
Antaeus, giant of Libya son of Poseidon	Charybdis, Queen of the sea
Lamus, teacher of heroic practice of Mycenae (one of the three sons of Poseidon)	Megiphas, king of the Amazons and of Asia
Leuce, teacher of heroic practice of Mycenae (one of the three sons of Poseidon)	Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons (daughter of Ares)
Leuce, teacher of heroic practice of Mycenae (one of the three sons of Poseidon)	Leomedon, king of Troy son of Zeus
Leuce, teacher of heroic practice of Mycenae (one of the three sons of Poseidon)	Hippomenes, King of Sparta son of Zeus
Leuce, teacher of heroic practice of Mycenae (one of the three sons of Poseidon)	Perseus son of Zeus

Two impressive flights of stairs, partially constructed and partially hewn into the rock, led to the crest of Mt. Kythnos (179). The south stairway has been totally destroyed, but the north one has been preserved in good condition. At the top of the stairs was a marble gateway leading to the Kynthian, the sanctuary of Zeus Kynthias and Athena Kynthia, which worshippers could approach dressed only in white, unarmored, barefoot, and after a period of fasting and refraining from sexual intercourse. According to the myth, it was from this summit that Zeus watched the birth of Apollo and Artemis; evidence of his cult has been found there dating from the 6th cent. BC. The cult of Athena was introduced later, probably the result of propaganda by the Athenians who, in building a shrine to their patron divinity on the highest point, may have been seeking an present here as the patron of Delos as well. Despite the transportation difficulties, there were many votive offerings on the summit of the hill, among which was a colossal bronze statue of King Midas (D. Suter 1).

155-156

Under the sanctuaries on Kythnos the foundations of houses, large storage jars and tools from the 3rd millennium BC have been unearthed.

157-158

From the summit of Cyllinus one contemplates all but the northern extremity of the island; perched, harbour and town are revealed as in a plan. Only a narrow channel separates the island from ancient Narissos, the modern Greater Milos. In the intervening cleft are set two rocks, both known by the name of Metanakari, 'the distant island' (vertical) with long tidal surf the white waves under the north wind, under the reverse of the channel. The bigger of the two rocks is called by the ancients the Isle of Melite.

To the west, far behind Greater Milos, rises the island of Syros, twin Syros Northwards is the ancient Tenos (Oros), and of a long cloud resting along its headland, foul weather is at hand. Northward lies Mykonos where the modern traveller to Delos takes his leave of the civilized world. When the north wind (aphrodite) blows with fury, communication between Delos and the outside world is severed for an indefinite period, as in ancient times. To the south, appearing now afar, now near, lie the islands of Paros and Naxos.

The view which unfolds itself in running to the right on the summit of Mt. Cyllinus is full of beauty; and it evokes a keen regret for the brilliance of that civilization which ran its course below so long ago, and now is marked by silent ruins and foundation-walls, among which the lizard glides and the goats from Mykonos find scanty pasture." (D. Suter 1).



The Theatre Quarter

In a small valley

at the foot of Mt Kythnos two significant buildings have been excavated: the *House of the Dolphins* and the *House of the Masks*.

The main entrance to the *House of the Dolphins* (88) was flanked by two alters to the gods who protected its inhabitants. One was square and constructed has not survived, but the other cylindrical marble one has been preserved intact. On a niche above it was a painting of Hercules. On the mosaic floor of the passageway is the ideogram of the Phoenician goddess Tanit, which was of a deterrent nature, i.e. it was placed there to keep evil away from the house. The floor of the atrium is covered by a splendid mosaic: in the center is a nautical sprang with sixteen compasses; circles decorated with braided bands; alternating heads of lions and griffins, stylized waves and a three-dimensional Greek key.

The playful nature of the dolphin, its affection for its companion and its legendary love of music very early associated it with the marine, joyful and frivolous Zeus. Zeus is frequently represented swimming, holding on to dolphins, riding on dolphins or playing the lyre while sitting on their back. It is most likely that depictions such as this one, where Zeus has harnessed energetic dolphins with rings, like the engine on a warship,²² allude allegorically to the military and destructive nature of the god.

The *House of the Masks* complex (88) consists of four houses. The atrium of the main residence has a peristyle of the Hesidian type. In this type of peristyle, the entablature in front of the main rooms is higher, permitting these rooms to be higher and to receive more light. To support the lower architraves on the other sides, projections were placed on the corner columns, sometimes plain and sometimes decorated, as in the House of the Trident (89) in which they are in the form of twin busts of lions and bulls. In the four rooms that look out onto the atrium, the mosaic floors have been beautifully preserved, as have large sections of the plaster in imitation of marble. In the center of the floor in the northeast corner of the peristyle, Thomyris is portrayed seated on a leopard to perform between two Centaurs. The god is wearing a long, sloped tunic and a second one over it with short sleeves. His hamatas is wrapped around his thigh and he is crowned with ivy; in one hand, he holds a thyrsus and in the other a drum. On the floor of the adjacent main hall, ivy leaves and broken bands create the impression of three-dimensional cubes. In the two bands flanking the main image, between tendrils of ivy, are ten theatrical masks of typical roles in the New Comedy. In the next hall, a Silenus, standing on his feet, is dancing to the accompaniment of a double flute played by a nude Satyr seated on a rock. In the last hall, between two lion's mosaics, an amphora is depicted and a palm branch and, below it, a bird pecking fruit. In front of the threshold are leaping dolphins. Because of the representations on the mosaic floors, the building has been associated with the theatre, but since the same decorative motifs can be found in many houses on Delos and in other ancient cities, it seems unlikely that the function of the building determined the subject matter of its decoration.

The next building group (89), which consists of many rooms and has an enormous cistern with a capacity of 270 m³, was probably the Xanthi or guest house.

Construction began on the Delos Theatre (88) just after 314 BC, and was completed 70 years later. The auditorium, the semi-circular amphitheatre where the audience sat, rested on a sturdy marble retaining wall. It is divided into two horizontal sections (mimeneis) with 26 and 17 stepped seats respectively that could accommodate a total of some 6500 spectators. Access to the auditorium was either by the portico, i.e. two large gates on either side of the semi-circular orchestra, by another two entrances at the level of the passageway separating the two sections, or by one last ramp in the middle of the highest point of the bank. The seats in the



Fig. 1. Plan and section of the Theatre of Bosra.

first row (the *proscaena*) have been best preserved and are the only seats with back support as they were reserved for honoured persons. The semicircular *orchestra*, which was the main part of the theatre, was closed off its straight side by the *skene*, the stage-building and dressing rooms, a rectangular structure with the external dimensions of 15.20 x 8.65 m., with three entrances on the east side and another on the west. In front of the *skene* was the *proskenion*, a colonnade 2.67 m. high with Ionic semi-columns between which were movable painted panels.²² The mutopia on the *proskenion* entablature were decorated with relief tripods and bulls' heads. Later a portico was added to the other three sides of the *skene*, the same height as the *proskenion*, with Ionic piers the bases of which have been preserved. The chorus moved in the semicircular *orchestra*, while the actors played on top of the *proskenion*.

Southwest of the theatre, vestiges of altars and shrines that dedicated to Artemis-Harran, Apollon Iberus, Hermes and Van have been preserved.

THEATER There is a remarkable, large reservoir of the Theatre (Kil) in which rainwater flowing down from the hillside was collected through a channel around the perimeter of the *orchestra*. In its upper level, supported by eight graceful granite arches, were the mouths of the wells from which water was drawn.

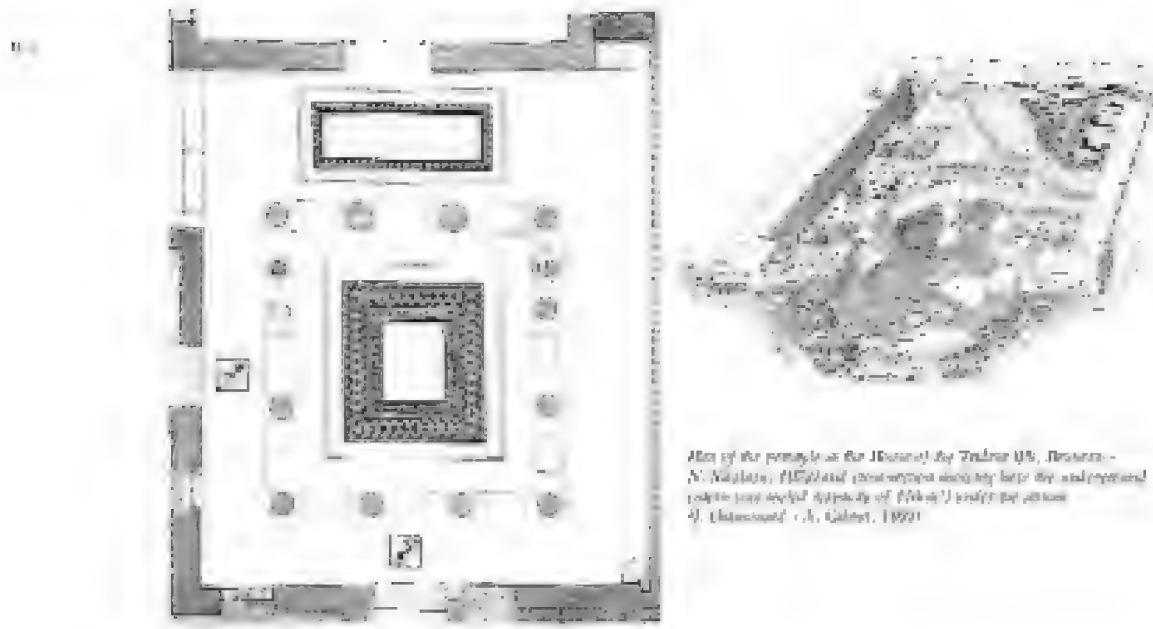
CHARACTER OF THE CITY To the left and right of the main stone-paved road that leads from the Sacred Way to the Theatre, is the Phoenician Quarter, the oldest district in the ancient city. On both sides of this irregular and uphill street are small shops, behind which are private houses. The quarter was dug up rapidly at the beginning of the last century, which is why very few objects were found from the wealthy houses, and the information thus derived is meagre and confused.²³ Despite the hasty excavation, most of the remarkable mosaic floors from this quarter have been preserved.

HOUSE OF THE TRIDENT This is a lavish dwelling with a Rhodian peristyle. The supports of the corner columns are in the form of double busts of lions and bulls. Since these busts are regarded as symbols of the two Syrian deities Atargatis and Hadad, it has been argued, without certainty, that the house may have belonged to a merchant from Syria. In the atrium there is a mosaic with a multi-coloured, three-dimensional, all-Greek key and on the peristyle floor is a trident adorned with a lion and a dolphin curled animal an anchor. On the sarcophagi in the exedra is depicted a Panathenaic amphora decorated with a chariot, a wreath and a palm branch. Panathenaic amphoras were given as prizes at the Panathenaic games; this representation suggests victory in the chariot races.



The excavation of the Theater in the early 20th century. Ephesus was named the main centre of the surrounding region, uniting political life, but also the law of the Amazons.

One of the largest houses in the quarter is the House of Dionysos (187). In the middle of the large peristyle court there is an exceptional mosaic emblem representing Dionysos that has given its name to the house. The god is presented winged, crowned with ivy, and seated on the bark of a tree around whose neck is a wreath of vines and grapes. In his raised right hand he is holding a thyrsus decorated with a ribbon as though it were a spear. The mosaic on the floor depicts a falcon, silver kantharos, wine vessel and symbol of the god, among plants. This is one of the most important mosaics of the Hellenistic period, created with hundreds of tiny tesserae of glass paste and semi-precious stones. The same theme is depicted in the House of the Masks and in houses in other ancient cities (Hella, Eretia, Pompeii),²² indicating that they had a common model. It may possibly portray the return of the god from India, and may have been inspired by the re-enactment at the Hellenistic procession in Alexandria, or by paintings on the same theme on the intercolumniation of Ptolemy's skeu. The Hellenata were established between 170-170 BC by Ptolemy II Philadelphus in honour of his father, and were celebrated every five years, an event as prestigious as the Olympic Games. The high point of the celebrations was an extravagant procession in which 57,000 foot-soldiers and 23,200 horsemen took part, according to estimates by Callixenos.²³ In this Dionysian procession that lasted from dawn to dusk, hundreds of Sileni and Satyrs took part walking behind girls, boys, and maidens crowned with grapevines or ivy. A chariot drawn by 100 men carried the statue of Dionysos and was followed by other chariots with mechanical statues that would stand up, pour libations and sit down again. Maidens pushed bunch mills, but especially wine, and there were hundreds of exotic birds and animals associated with the cult of the god: 2000 bulls, 14 leopards, 16 panthers, 4 lyres. Other chariots bore allegorical figures such as Victories (Victor) with golden wings, Aphrodite (Mery), Nyssa the homeland of Dionysos, Hygeia (Health), Asia (Worth), and other women representing unpopulated cities. The return of Dionysos from the Indies was represented in a four-wheeled carriage. A Dionysos six metres tall was standing on an elephant, dressed in purple garments and with a gold wreath of ivy and vines on his hair. In his hand he held a gold thyrsus spear and his boots were studded with gold. On the elephant's neck set a star 25 metres high bearing a gold wreath of vine and holding a golden horn of plenty in his right hand. The elephant's harness was gold and round its neck was a



Plan of the peristyle at the House of Cleopatra (188), Roman-Nikopolis. This had four rooms around the large peristyle and contained inscriptions and depictions of Ptolemaic and Roman deities.
A. Chaniotis, A. Kaltsas, 1990.

garland of golden pines. Five hundred gifts followed: a purple chiton, gold girdles and gold pectorals, and behind them 120 Satyrs in gold and bronze armour. After them came five companies of dentists with gold and silver rings mounted on which were bejewelled diadems and Satyrs...²

As the inscriptions show, Ptolemy II Philadelphus had been extremely generous to the sanctuary for 40 years. Even after his death offerings were made in his name, which means that he had left a bequest to the cult. Equally generous was his wife Arsinoe II who dedicated a table and a silver tripod. The Romans honoured Ptolemy by erecting a statue of him and by sending a delegation to the Phaleians.

Opposite the House of Cleopatra is the House of Cleopatra of Athens (188), whose statue, together with that of her husband Ptolemy IV, was found in the atrium. The ostentatious extravagance and vanity of the couple is obvious, because they erected their statues right opposite the main entrance of the house, to impress visitors and passers-by who could see them whenever the door was open. The inscription on the base, in addition to the names of those represented and the date of the commission, also proclaims the fact that Cleopatra had dedicated two silver tripods to the temple of Apollo.

"The wheel turns..." – The end

Would that I were still the joy of every noble mind,
not pestered here as wandering Delos' childless;
such Delos! I'll not have known. Apollon! not
How those Greek ships all fair deserted Delos,
whom all despised out of old. Here stayed her vengeance
for Lato, but first this terrible retribution.

ANTONIOS, 1st ACT, 5th

The wealth that had been accumulated on the island and the Delians' friendly relations with Rome were the main causes of the island's destruction. The island was devastated and sacked twice: in 88 BC by Mithridates King of Pontus, who was at war with the Romans, and again in 80 BC by the pirates of Athenodorus, an ally of Mithridates. "When the general of Mithridates and the forces who obliged her to revolt attacked Delos, they destroyed it totally," writes Strabo at the end of the first century BC. "When the king retreated to his own country and the Romans took the island back, it was deserted. And it continues to be at present up to the present day. Now it belongs to the Athenians." Pausanias' gives many details; "Delos was the trade centre of the Hellenes and merchants believed they were safe on the god's sacred island. But Menophanes, one of Mithridates's generals, whether out of pure wantonness or by express orders of Mithridates, and being aware that Delos was uninhabited and its inhabitants unarmed, sailed against it with enemies, killed the foreigners who lived there, killed the Delians, and having looted the merchandise and all the twelve offerings, took the women and children slaves, and destroyed Delos. And while they were sailing the city, some impious barbarian threw the wooden cult statue (boule) of the god into the sea. The waves tossed it up in the region of Ios, which was then named Liphselion. But neither Menophanes nor Mithridates elicited the wrath of the god. As soon as Menophanes left after the sack Delos, he was waylaid by some merchants who had escaped and was sunk together with his ship. Later when Mithridates' kingdom was crushed and the Romans bounded him everywhere, the god drove him to suicide. Others say that he asked a mercenary to kill him as a favour. This was the end to which their impetuosity led them." Apollon contributes the information that 20000 men were slaughtered on Delos, most of whom were Italians, and that the treasures looted there were sent to Athens accompanied by 2000 men.

After Delos was first sacked in 88 BC, many of its wealthy inhabitants abandoned the island, and the doors of many houses were found sealed by walls. Before the city even had time to recover and before the buildings could be repaired, the second, and even more destructive blow came from Athenodorus's pirates, who attacked suddenly one winter's night in 80 BC, sacked the sanctuary and the city and set fire to many houses in the northern quarter. The pirates landed in the Skandaros harbour and found the inhabitants totally unprepared, most of whom were taken prisoner and ended up being sold in the slave markets of the Levant. Evidence of the disaster is visible to this day, particularly in the northern quarter of the city, which was burnt down. In the Lake Naisse, an amphora of wine that had been put in the well to keep its contents cool until the evening symposium, was never opened. Two blocks away, a woman hastily buried her jewellery, but was never able to come back for it. Guests were drinking in a tavern near the Sanctuary and in a panic, throwing their wine cups on the floor, while the prostitute who was working in a room over the tavern left behind not only her cheap jewellery and cosmetics, but her savings as well. In a house behind the tavern, a cooking pot was found on the hearth, still containing the last meal. Stone-carvers working near the Tomb of Philip, who were mass-producing statuettes of Aphrodite and Heracles for the pilgrims, left them half-finished; likewise, colossal statues and marble tables remained unfinished. In the Agora of the Hellenes, other stelae were left incomplete and never placed on the tiered plinths.

The ancient city had developed only as an extension of the port: it flourished as long as the transit trade between east and west was concentrated there; and it ceased to exist when the port became unsafe and trade moved to the harbours of the West.

Two years after Delos was sacked for the second time, the Roman general Gaius Thaumus tried to repair "the damaged parts of the city" and to protect it with a wall; and then "Delos" tower was Apollo's (Kallimachos). But it was too late. Neither the class of people that had created this cosmopolitan city with its just a few details nor memory establish emotional ties with a place. The wealthy merchants, shipowners and bankers had abandoned Delos and resettled in more secure ports in the Mediterranean. The city gradually declined, was abandoned and forgotten. Terullian, apologist of Christianity, cited the lost Sibyllic oracle in a characteristically sputiferous way: "qui Sappho amaret haec Delos adire". This play with puns and rhymes was elegantly translated by Landau as: "Even Sappho shall be said, her Har-Sem [Delos] unseem".

The decline was so dramatic that in 58 BC, a decision was required by the Roman senate to acknowledge the sacredness of the island. The Athenians were now indifferent to Delos: they stopped sending archons and appointed only a lifetime priest of Apollo who lived in Athens. Later they even tried to sell it, but could find no buyers. Plutarch,¹¹ writing in the 2nd cent. AD, reports that were it not for the Sanctuary guard sent by the Athenians, Delos would be totally devoid of any human presence.

In the early centuries AD, there was even a considerable Christian community on the island, as testified by the remains of eight early Christian basilicas and the fact that Delos is mentioned as being the see of a bishop. After the 7th cent. AD, however, it appears to have been totally deserted. The ruins of the luxurious houses were covered with earth and rocks and the uninhabited islet became a pirates' lair,¹² as it had been during the prehistoric period.

*Saints' verse of Delos' children, enclosed
abiding in the Aegean by Delos' son.
By your gods, lady, I'll never call you hapless
and ever will I attend the words of Antipater;
so that you may rejoice therefore, Astylos, the
after Diogenes calls you her homeland.*

ARIADNE OF MYSSES, 1st cent. AD



Adelos – Delos – Adelos – Sdiles, and again Delos

Delos returns to human memory



Silver tetradrachm with the head of Athene
circa 450 BC. Obverse

In 1154 AD, the Arab geographer Idrisi describes the island Adelos as "ruined, deserted, uninhabited, but with a port." Delos and Rheneia, whose name had been completely forgotten, were referred to collectively as Sdiles. Sdil or Sdiles and even today the Mykonians call the two islands Delos Mikros Delos is Delos and Megales Delos is Rheneia. In the Mykonian Christmas carol, St. Basil comes from "Vener Isles", the fertile southern part of Rheneia, where, as in antiquity, the wealthiest farms are located:

St Basil comes from Lower Isles
Holding a heavy full of emps
And another basket full of mastomata.
He at the lamps, asks for buttercups
We offer him sweet wine and he jumps up and dances.

With the Renaissance and the study of the ancient texts, Delos returned to human memory. In 1645, Cynarus of Ancona visited it, copied some inscriptions and made drawings of the ruins. He was followed by many travellers who usually produced fictitious representations of the ruins. For centuries, the ruins of the ancient buildings were quarried by the inhabitants of the surrounding islands as construction materials. Meanwhile, on both Delos and Rheneia, lime kilns converted the ancient sculptures and marble architectural members to lime. Marble buildings were also demolished to remove their lead and bronze joints, as metal was valuable at that period. The British travellers Stewart and Revert,¹¹ who visited Delos in March of 1758 expressed their melancholy sentiments: "This ruined, once so celebrated, the resort of multitudes, the seat of religion, religious ceremonies and popular processions, is now an unpeopled desert, everywhere strewn with ruins, so various, and so well wrought, as to evince its once populous and flourishing condition. The only animals we saw here, besides rabbits and snakes, were a few sheep brought occasionally from Myconos, a neighbouring island, to crop the scanty herbage which the ruins will permit to grow. Travellers, who have visited this place, have been distressed for water; I have, therefore, given a map of the island, in which, among other particulars, the situation of an excellent well is marked. The number of various marbles here is continually diminishing for want of a custom, the Turks having, of placing at the heads of the graves of their deceased friends a marble epulum; and the miserable sculptors of that nation carry here every year and work up the fragments for that purpose, carving the figure of a turban on top of the monumental stone. Other pieces they carry off for locks and window-sills; so that, in a few years, it may be as naked as when it first made its appearance above the surface of the sea."

The distressing situation was also described later by the French anthropologist C.N. Bonnier¹² who, on instructions from Louis XVI, visited Greece and Turkey in 1778:

A sort of religious thrill seizes the soul when, leaving Mykini behind, one sets sail westward and approaches a very small island, [but one which was the most celebrated of all in antiquity: a sacred place, the cradle of Apollo and Diana, subject of songs by the most famed poets and object of veneration by the Greeks], who used to go there to worship Apollo in a temple that was among the most impressive buildings on earth, majestic jewel of the most magnificent city in the world. There is no one who has not heard tell of the wonders of Delos, of its monuments, of its cities, of its brilliant population, of the magnificent elegance of its architecture. There is no one with a sense of beauty who has not sought avidly in the chronicles of Greece's good times the description of so many achievements of art, and I certainly do not intend to repeat here what one can read in many books of great merit ...

"But the island of Delos, once so populous, on which religious ceremonies were celebrated with such splendour, in the presence of countless throngs of people from all parts of the Orient, is now just a deserted island, abandoned to naked animals and covered with ruin and rubble. Pirates and bandits are practically the only people who approach it; they go there to strip up the beauty from their brigandage, or to make new plans to sack and pillage, studded in fragments of alters on which incense and perfumes were burned to glorify the god of day.

"The ruins of Delos, imposing remains of the most beautiful buildings with which ancient Hellas was graced, are already not the way modern travellers who visited them have described. They have become even more ruined, and they owe this new degradation to the perfide barbarism of people who go there to take away materials to build their houses, or wretched Turkish slave-masters, who every year remove valuable pieces of marble to make the little columns with the tubular tops which Mohammedans erect on the graves of the dead. The very name of Delos has been forgotten in the cushion on which it had once acquired such a great reputation. The Greeks call the two islands of Peter and Paul, and our navigators designate them by the name *Judea*."

But despite the devastation and desolation, the landscape always retained its unique fascination. On Friday, 10 July 1901 at 6:30 p.m., C.P. Cavafy¹³ arrived at the port of Rheneia on his first trip to Greece. The poet, whose work was only minimally concerned with the description of nature, for which his contemporaries criticised him, was charmed by the beauty of the landscape and devoted a few lines in his personal diary to describe it: "We have reached Delos... At 5 a.m. the sea under the rising sun, presented a beautiful appearance; and beauties also looked the Islands that studded the horizon... The sea's colour and form are wonderful - intensely Greek... The Island is pretty to look at. The bay most picturesque. But it appears that there are very few inhabitants at Delos, and almost no cultivation - whether owing to the natural barrenness of the soil or to the carelessness of the population, I am not aware. Fair weather this morning. Thermometer at 78°..."





The Tower of Ararat, as imagined by Dr. Lister.
An engraving, in about 1700.



Drawing of Mt. Ararat by G. W. Lister (A. Johnson 1816).
Close to the base the signs of diluvia,
which are reported still remaining, can be distinguished.

Naturaliste Japonais (Paris de Traité des Volcans dans
Voyage du Japon, 1770) drew the most accurate map
of Mount Ararat on which he noted the location of the
rivers of the fortress, the Sacred Lake and
the Hamatun. To the right he has shown two
of the remaining parts of the Apennines of Armenia.



"When the oak has fallen all rush to gather wood"

СЕРИЯ ПРАКТИК

Systematic

excavations began on the island in 1828, but as is frequently the case, grave robbers, treasure-hunters and cultured foreign "collectors" had preceded the archaeologists. "Enlightened" Western jewellers who came to pay their respects to the site on which a remarkable civilisation had come into being, easily failed to take home some piece of the "glorious" ruins with them: "Regarding the prospects of antiquity," writes French archaeologist Edmond About in 1856, "there are not that many. All the paintings have been lost, as one can imagine. The sculptures departed for Rome during the age of the Caesars, for Venice at the time of Scrovegni, for Germany at the time of Gaspard, for England under Lord Elgin, for Russia at the time of Orloff and of Governor Repoldovas. We shall never learn what the Russians took and what they destroyed in the antiquities of the period of their domination there; and Armenian archaeologists still speak with distress of the diplomatic generation of Repoldovas."¹²

Neither Delos nor Rheneia escaped this fate. The former's Sanctuary and wealthy houses and the latter's fortresses were being looted for centuries, so that today none European museums can boast that they have anything from the Sacred Isle in their collections.

"Innumerable European travellers have always visited Delos and many of their writings would adequately anchor Hitler and they would set themselves to excavating prior to the establishment of the Hellenic Republic, and there is no doubt that many ancient reliefs belonging to our nation were carried off to foreign states. Many years ago among the marbles from Delos a marble head was found, which the Paris school of France or Mykonos purchased."¹³

One of the tasks imposed on the Mykoniots by the Russians was to load "the marbles from Delos"¹⁴ onto ships, while in 1828, the "British Royal Consul before Corfu" was so shameless that his name ended up in the Mykonian idiom as being synonymous with crook and dealer in illicit antiquities.¹⁵ It goes without saying that Edmond About, who was mentioned earlier, neglected to number his compatriots'¹⁶ among the "antiquities-loving" foreigners.

"Most honest citizens and authorities of the municipality of the island of Mykonos, may you be healthy and prosperous. It was reported by his courtesy the Ambassador of France to the supreme and longitude Capolet Pasha, our master, that at the month of November, when a French ship started off your neighbouring island, Delos by name, some citizens presidently plundered also from this ship [...] Nikos Mavromatis 15 January 1828, from the colony."

Apart from the leading dynasties, the Mykoniots themselves "would sally out from time to time and dig"¹⁷ and find statues and grave stelae that they donated in 1829 to the newly established National Museum on Aegina. In 1842, when Otto visited Mykonos, the Elders of Mykonos gave Queen Amalia "a pair of gold earrings representing lions' faces" that had been found in an "excavation" on Rheneia, and she accepted them "with great pleasure".¹⁸ For centuries, the marble from the ancient monuments was reduced to lime, or transported by caravans to the surrounding islands to be used as construction material. A great part of the Church of the Panaghia on Tinos was built with Delian marble, while statues, inscriptions and architectural members can still be found built into the walls of many Mykonian houses, as well as houses on Syros, Tinos, Milos, Thera, Kithini, Folea and other places, since.

"Many Pelion slaves were situated near Delos in the past, during the years before the Amorgosport Service was established on the island, by various island sailing boats, which would move off the island and use these stones as handy ballast which - when the ballast was no longer needed - would be tossed off to make up different coxes of neighbouring islands."¹¹

11:

The documents quoted below describe the prevailing situation:

1. "To the most honored gentlemen elders and notables of the island of Mykonos, we salute you with brotherly kisses, Phara, 21 December 1830.

It has been confirmed by some of your countrymen that opposite your port, on Delos, there are columns of old buildings, and we would ask you please, since we have heard of them, if we can have permission from your honour to rent a couple and some to take ten to fifteen of them, which we want to use in the building and docks for our port, and in expectation of this favour, we remain always in your debt, and in anticipation of your most favourable response."

We embrace you and are always
Brooks and trustees from (the island of) Psara".¹²

2. "Friends and notables of the island of Tinos, we pay our brotherly respects and embrace your excellencies.

Investigating matters of your health we do it sincerely and we are greatly surprised to see the disorder and abnormality that have been committed by your neighbours against us for almost two years, with great effect and disturbance to our people. Because robbers from your land go to Delos and take sheep, goats, columns, wood and anything else they need, at a time when certain shepherds and their great need of everything that can be found on our island Delos. On this matter we had been patient for so long as neighbours and friends. And we have not bothered you with this even though we have often been informed of such events. But now we have learned that you sent the ship of your port in Delos and took away two victims.

our people are not pleased about the robbers because without their permission and without the permission of the notables or nobility that this has to happen. And we ask you please to respond right away, so that no displacement follows in the meantime with all our brotherly love. We pay our respects

1830: April 24: mykones
the community elders of Mykonos
regard founders of your nobility!"¹³

3. "Can the same masters of Tinos and Mykonos deny that for a long time, even up to the present day, they have been plying their trade by robbing the most famous ancient works on Delos and Rheneia? and between we see them ourselves (not many years ago) converting the altar of Artemis and of Apollo, their columns, their their statues. In visitors for justifying collecting glasses with turbans for the tombs of Agios or Christoforou? On the countless small parts of the most beautiful marbles on earth, which today cover the entire holy precinct, not bear witness to the fact that this barbarous and terrible disaster has been taking place there unhampered for centuries?"

1830: January 1830

1. C. H. S. Ellington et al.¹⁴

In 1831, Friedrich Thiersch proposed that Ithomia be founded, that the isthmus uniting the two parts of the Island be cut, that the naval command of eastern Greece be installed there, and that Delos become a trading colony "intended to reflect the significance of its martyrs [saints] and to ensure economic opportunity and the means to enjoy such development as is promised by the future of Greece".¹⁵

On 10 February 1854, Georgios Gyzis and M. Sotiros, elected representatives of Mykonos at the National Assembly of the Hellenes in Athens on third September 1853 submitted to the National Assembly a "Memorandum about the uninhabited islands belonging to Mykonos":

"The neighbouring uninhabited islands of Delos and Rheneia, to which rams and other animals would go and eat crops every year, gave their rocks and dry wood unthundered to common property, have belonged for centuries to the Community of my beloved Mykonos. In the regard about two centuries ago, that is in the year 1680, in order to avoid disputes arising from claims by one against the other, the



The ancient stone cistern used for water collection as a source for subsistence materials. As the photograph, an ancient pillar was erected as a base for the former built of stone by Mycenaeans from 1600 BC. The pottery and oil boats are freely visible.

Mycenaeans divided the land into four lots (heptachoroi) and setting boundaries determined which one of the lot holders, along with his people, could claim up instruments of ownership to each region of the lands he acquired by this lot. The relevant document signed by the clergy and elders of Mycenae bears the date 10 November 1846 and exists in the Government archives.

"The rights to the aforementioned uninhabited islands of the community of the Mycenaeans have always been recognized and respected not only by the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, but also by the British administrators under British rule at different times and after that up to 1848, at which time the general tax inspectors appointed to the Cyclades to self-service, as they say, reported to the government that Delos and Rheneia supposedly belong to the state, and that they were regarded as such immediately, and the former were never thus subject to the heavy tax of 25% imposed to give scope thence. Since then there have the constituents of Mycenae addressed the Government, either in writing or by sending a representative, regarding the uninhabited islands lawfully claimed by its marching pastor, they received this blunt reply "The courts are open". This situation persisted until the year 1848, when I was elected by my fellow citizens, together with Mr. M. Solomos, as representatives to the National Assembly of the Hellenes of our Superior in Athens, and I regard it as my duty, apart from the general issues, to contribute in particular to what concerns my birthplace on two points; 1) that the ownership of Delos and Rheneia by the municipality of Mycenae be recognized in order to stop the heavy tax of 25%. 2) To regard as the parish church that of the Monastery of Transfiguration.

"Regarding the first point, i.e. the two uninhabited islands, I have performed my duty through the report I submitted together with my colleague Mr. M. Solomos, on 10 February 1844 to the National Assembly, an extract from which is as follows:

"The uninhabited islands of Delos and Rheneia, both under all the costs of Mycenae, belong to Mycenae by right of previous occupation and unopposed possession, but it was felt, despite these strong and incontestable proofs which we submit in referring to the National Assembly, for them to be perceived as belonging to the state.

As Athens 10 February 1844

*The representatives of Mycenae
G. Tsakos, M. Solomos"*

"As a consequence of this report, a committee was appointed by the government comprising Mousa G. Prodios, M. Benetas and M. Pollio, which in its report of 8 April 1848 ruled that the claims of the Mycenaeans are lawful and can be argued successfully before the Courts, and Decree No. 36 was issued to this effect on the 12th day of this month and year, by which upon the proposal of the then Minister of Finance Mr. A. Maenakidiotis, the said islands were recognized as belonging to the Municipality of Mycenae and thus more than, the heavy tax collected of 25 percent on natural land ceased to be levied."

The two islands, with the exception of the excavated Archaeological Site, were divided into "lots" which are rented to Mycenaean farmers and livestock farmers to this day. In 1928, the revenues from the rental of these fields amounted to 200,000 drachmas. Relying on these revenues, the Community of Mycenae then married Delos and Rheneia for a few years to the Deposits and Loans Fund, which financed the works required to bring electric power to Mycenae (Delos was not electrified until 1956). In 1933, it is reported that "barley, melons and tobacco flourish and are planted on Delos, and some thousand sheep graze on its plains."⁷⁴ Retired guardians still remember with nostalgia the melons they used to grow in the Agora of the Italians.

Digging, earth removal and excavations

The first excavation

was conducted on Delos by Pauli van Reenen, a Dutch-Prussian officer of the Russian occupation army; his findings, packed up in St Petersburg and Bucharest, together with other pieces of ancient marble,¹¹ In 1820, an Italian requested permission to excavate on Delos, but changed his mind after visiting the island, in the conviction that he would find nothing worthwhile.¹² In the same year, the members of the French Expédition Scientifique de Morée dug a few test trenches in some buildings near the sea.¹³

Systematic excavations began in March of 1853 by J. Lebègue, member of the French Archaeological School at Athens, and Panagiotis Stamatakis, employee of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education. On 8 August 1853, Panagiotis Stamatakis, with the required protocol, handed over to the Mayor of Mykonos, Lavrentios Latsoudis D. Razbants "the antiquities discovered and collected from the various sites of the excavation at Delos, at the expense of the Ministry and with the supervision of the Archaeological Society of Athens, and presented at the City Hall building."¹⁴

Excavations by the French Archaeological School of Athens continued, under the supervision of a Ministry employee who was frequently the school principal of Mykonos, or some temporary employee, or with no supervisor at all, a fact that at times worried the Mayor of Mykonos: "...since the excavations have been taking place for almost a month with no supervision, I judge that [a supervisor] is essential both in the interest of the Municipality, which I am called upon by the Law and by vote of my fellow citizens to defend, but also in the interest of the entire nation, relics of whose ancestral heritage may be taken away."¹⁵

One of these in fact, Chapman's *Antiquities*, p.





The French School's residence at Delphi, The Agora, during the Mycenaean Hall at Delphi archaeological dig on 11 July 1902. Men can be seen the work the stones that drop to earth onto the ground floor.

The French School limited its excavations during the period between 1892-1903 in order to concentrate on the excavation of Delphi; work at Mycenae was then resumed intermittently from 1904 to 1914 (Gaston Huillier) thanks to a generous subsidy given to the School (50000 gold francs per year up to 1913) by the Duc de Luynes, who never visited Delphi.

During this period, the entire sanctuary and the greater part of the ancient city were uncovered. Large numbers of workers from Mycenae were employed on the excavations, who dug "only" 11 from dawn to sunset, so as to "facilitate supervision".¹² They were all housed together in a large warehouse near the Agora of Theophrastus. The harsh working conditions were the cause of the first strike on Mycenae, in June of 1903, about which a question was even asked in Parliament.¹³ The men working on the excavations demanded in the Mycenae harbour and prevented embarkation for Delphi "putting forward claims for higher wages, shorter working hours and better accommodations for the workers." The strike ended with the "agitators being expelled"; but "by government order, those who provoked the strike were arrested".¹⁴

The debris from the excavations was taken away in wagons that started on rails and then dumped into the Sacred Barn, which was thus totally filled in. But it appears that owing to the large number of workers, the excavations in both Delphi and Mycenae were not always conducted in the best possible way, for which blame was laid on the government, the General Ephor of Antiquities Panagiotis Kavvadas,¹⁵ who appeared to have few friends. Théophile Homolle, Director of the French School (1890-1903) and H. Confort, "an ordinary French sergeant major," who "carries out the excavations unassisted and unsupervised, guided of course by his great archaeological knowledge... the French School student M. Courte does not supervise the excavations constantly, but only periodically turns up for work, and Mr Homolle, the director of the French School, goes to Delphi every two or three months, where he remains for a few days. About 100-200 people are working in Delphi over a large area, excavating in many places at the same time. But there is no Greek archaeologist or ephor supervising them."¹⁶ On 10 August 1893 a letter was published in an Athenian newspaper by a man who was "well informed about events and what is happening in the archaeological excavations"¹⁷ which blames the government for the destruction of Delphi and for bowing down to the foreigners because "in the past year it replaced the supervisor of the excavations at Delphi [Demetrios Savozenallis] upon the demand of the French ambassador. The man had the authority to supervise, that is to perform his duty, and he is not supposed to care at all about the excavations or protecting the public interest, but should become an ordinary servant to the foreigners directing the excavations." It concluded:

My indignation however was raised and not so surprised at Mr Homolle's inglorious threat regarding the excavations at Delphi. He naively believes, it would appear, that the French Republic by conducting archaeological excavations in Greece, as it does, is doing us a favour and now threatens to deprive us of the benefits of these excavations. He is however right to talk in that way, and the Greek government gives him



View of the "excavations" in the Theatre Quarter, below the House of Cleopatra (W, Jevons, April 1881).

the right, by showing unflagging liberality in the granting of permits and excavations to the descendants of Michel Temmard. Perhaps I may be criticised for accusing an entire nation because of one man. But the situation in the excavations on Delos, if nothing else, proves that the French School here has shown itself at least worthy of its [Imperial] alter desdestructive power. The person going to study the precious buildings on the most sacred island must truly be armed with the insensibility of the excavators to those objects to be capable of walking through the entire area of the excavations. Otherwise, the acute pain caused by their doctored state and indignation against those who caused it may force him to depart as soon as possible from Delos."

The infelicitate manner with which the excavations were conducted received scathing comment in the Athenian press.

"Regrettably the French have not followed such rules in their work, thereby learning not only courage and self-respect but also, let me point out, the Greek nation as well, by a specimens-based, or theatrical exhibition. They assigned the excavations in Delphi solely to students of their Archaeological School at Athens, who because of their youth and inexperience, were unequal to the great task of the excavations at Delphi. Hardly does the director Mr. Isenelle travel there; and the student Cauer, even were he a distinguished archaeologist and made a superhuman effort, would not be sufficient to undertake this task, which

to authoritatively neglect systematically, abandoning it to the mood and whims of Mr. Gouriet, a man indifferent to the science of archaeology and the scholarly execution of excavations, a former sergeant major unless we are mistaken. With all this, Mr. Hugolle and the students of the French Archaeological School apparently regarding the task at Delphi to be unimportant and undeserving of their attention, are simultaneously attempting to be assigned other excavations, at Delos and Mantinea,²² surely, as we believe, for scholarly infatuation, and scandalously, they do not consent to a Greek upbra as superfluous.²³

Another article in the same newspaper ends with the conclusion that: "It is perhaps a type of punishment devised by the descendants of the Greeks to be imposed upon the descendants of the Greeks."²⁴

By the early decades of the 20th century, the Sanctuaries had already been unearthed as had part of the ancient city, most of which fortunately still lies under a protective layer of some two meters of soil. The Hellenic Archaeological Service and the French Archaeological School continue to conduct excavations to this day, but on a much smaller scale, since the main concern of the Hellenic Archaeological Service is to protect, conserve and make accessible the monuments that have already been excavated, a task that requires enormous outlays, while the primary aim of the French School is to study the monuments and publish the findings that are still unpublished, even though the site was excavated more than a century ago. But the section that has already been excavated, perhaps the most extensive archaeological site in the world, gives the visitor a clear and unique picture of the Sanctuary and of the ancient city.



Despite the fact that the excavations began in 1902, a very large part of the ancient city still lies under a protective layer of soil. To the left another statue of Aphrodite revealed by the rain (March 2003) and to the right, the excavation of a porphyry altar (excavating from the foundations of the Porphyry Altar) (August 2003).

The findings and their fate

The movable findings

From the excavations at Delos, primarily fragments of sculptures and inscriptions, were transported to nearby Mykonos, consigned to the existing collection of Italian antiquaries there, handed over by each cipher supervising the excavations to either the mayor or school principal who was assigned the duty of curator of the collection, on the basis of a protocol drawn up in duplicate, one copy of which was submitted to the Government Minister, and the other was kept by the curator of the collection, to be used instead of a catalogue.¹¹

The most noteworthy sculptures were taken to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens,¹² a practice which continued on various pretexts even after the Delos Museum was built. In 1916, D. Stavropoulos protests caustically but in vain about the removal of the bronze head that had been found in the Granite Hallway:¹³

...I am not trying to dispute the correctness of the principle that the State should collect all the most noteworthy findings in the country in one museum, a principle which if it were generally observed would have relieved the Archaeologists of Athens of the majority of the a principle which although not observed in Olympia, Delphi, Ephesus, has deprived Delos of all noteworthy findings until recently on the pretext of the lack of a museum, even now that a museum has been built, a fact that became a law just for Delos.

This may be permitted to dispel the first article of the relevant royal decree which may be used to justify the transfer of the exceptionally important head, which is certainly of value in the Delos museum. Elsewhere in Athens it would be downgraded to a mere decorative.

Such findings deserve only to enhance a museum and for purposes of exhibition, or in order to enrich the study and protection of scholarship! Any argument in this regard addressed to the members of the Archaeological Council would constitute disengagement on the part of the Council and of me. Therefore for the benefit of scholarship I would request that the head in question at the Delos Archaeological Museum be kept, so that the old mistake of removing heads and incomplete statues from Delos be repeated. The armlets of the temple of the Achaean which have been returned to Delos have been removed, whereas and most likely the valuable offerings of Neandria, the Niki, the Mastagones and the Cast should not have remained incomplete had they not been exchanged from their site, unless they have returned to it, especially if the French School had found them had assigned a particular scholar to make a systematic effort to match the multitude of fragments in the museum and not to wait for this to be done by the Hellenic Service which has so much else to do.¹⁴

On 28 July 1914, Stavropoulos was forced to carry the Justice trial in question to the National Museum and deliver it personally and five months later, on 17 December 1914, he was also obliged to hand over the sculptural group of Aphrodite with Eros and Pan that had been found in 1909. In the transport order¹⁵ the Ministry promised that "in its place, a plaster cast will in time be erected". This never happened.

In the protocol of 20 December 1886, by which the findings of the year were handed over to the Mayor of Mykonos, mention was made for the first time of the "Delian Museum on Mykonos". In later protocols, reference is made to the "Museum in the Raungama House", the "Museum in the Krikeli House" (1881) or the "Collection in the Kompanis House" (1882). All these buildings were ordinary Mykonian houses leased by the Ministry and the Archaeological Society as storage space. In 1891, a campaign conducted among "Mykonians everywhere"¹⁶ raised funds for the purchase of a lot on which the Archaeological Museum of Mykonos¹⁷ was built in 1899-1900 at the expense of the Ministry and the Archaeological Society. The con-

struction of the Museum was not without its adventures and, despite the endless protests of Dimitrios Stavropoulos, Ephor of Antiquities for Delos and Mykonos, the building was so shoddily constructed and insecure that it wasn't until 1908, after extensive repairs, that antiquities were moved there. In the meantime, the thousands of findings unearthed by Stampanidis in the "Vanderanian Pit" were added to the antiquities stored in the two Mykonian houses. To store all these finds, another two buildings were rented on Mykonos, the house of Anna Kouzoula and the stonemason of Giorgios Giorgoulis, the rent in both cases being paid by the Archaeological Society. It was obvious that the little Archaeological Museum of Mykonos was never going to be able to house all these findings, in addition to those that were being unearthed on Delos annually. Thus in 1911 (?) it was decided to build a larger Museum on Delos to store and exhibit the Delos findings.



Other antiquities in
the National Archaeological
Museum c. 1910
In the foreground:
Aphrodite with Cupid
from the Temple of
Athena Promachos
in Delos; in the Archaic
group: the Idols of
the Chthonians and
Athena's dog in the
group of Aphrodite
and Cupid.

History of the Museum building

It is not known when and by whom the decision was made to build a museum at Delos and when the particular site was selected. The oldest document we have on the subject is a telegram from the General Ephor of Antiquities, P. Kavvadas to Mr. Savvopoulos dated 11 May 1891:¹¹

"Decision made to construct Museum at Delos using granite stone. Telegraph immediately whether lime available and purchase same and if necessary, bring boulders and artisans there."

Apparently the decision to build a museum on Delos was known to Savvopoulos since his reply expresses no surprise:¹²

"There is no lime here but the possibility of producing sufficient quantities in time. Can supply them stone for two and 30 per quintal delivered to Delos. Am expecting a better offer. We also need Thracian earth [gravelous], boulders and carpenters available here. Necessary to send special supervisor or master mason from there."

"Awaiting approval for necessary immediate hiring of excavation supervisor."

The General Ephor of Antiquities, Panagiotis Kavvadas was simultaneously President of the Archaeological Society, which may explain the following document:

"To the General Ephor of Antiquities
Respectfully, I transmitted the following telegram:

In Athens, 15 May 1891

Dear Sirs,
Mr. M.

To the
Ephor Mr. D. Savvopoulos

"We communicate to you that by decision of the Council, we have been assigned to manage the construction of the Archaeological Museum to be erected by the Society on Delos under the direction of French Engineer M. Comte. Head engineer Eleftherios Kampanis has been appointed foreman. One wing of the museum is to be constructed for the present, as noted in the two drawings attached herewith. You are requested to see quickly to the purchase and preparation of lime, having first informed us not only of the price of which you can supply the lime, but also whether it will be necessary for us to send workers there to help and if so how many."

The Vice-President
Dr. Tzortzopoulos

None of the above documents refer to stone, since it was considered self-evident that stone would be used from the ancient ruins, as had been done in the past with buildings erected to house the French School members.

The choice of co-workers for Savvopoulos was unfortunate, and may perhaps have been due to Kavvadas' dislike of him.

Henri Conver,⁷⁴ an engineer specializing in bridges and railway lines had collaborated in the past with the Ministry of Public Works. He had been employed by the French School since 1880 and, as noted above, had taken part in the excavations at Delphi. It is very likely that he was the main reason Stavropoulos left Delphi. The newspapers of the period reported that he was "an ordinary French non-commissioned officer, with a rough tongue and behaviour, to say nothing harsher, and in Delphi he was a professional trader in illicit antiquities, buying coins, because of which he was tried in the courts, and learned, in Amphissa... Mr. Tsoustanis hearing the German archaeologist Hartwiegler deplored the way in which the excavations were conducted in Delphi, and manifestly indignant on behalf of the unjustly treated science of archaeology, replied that this was not all that was happening, and that M. Conver was only interested in collecting ancient coins from the excavations."⁷⁵

Haralambos Kyrgyrides, Conver's collaborator in Delphi, was described as a "treacherous worker, supposedly an interpreter for the French. He, together with the Frenchman Conver, former sergeant major sent here by General Vassilios, are squandering public (French) money... taking advantage of the ignorance of the members of the French School in these matters. They 'paid' wages for which no one ever worked, and in fact Kyrgyrides even coerced the workers into eating at the grocery shop belonging to Gouraris, who explicitly promised great profits that they would share... the payrolls for the workers' wages were written in pencil and in small letters, while the worker signed in ink."⁷⁶

The aged former Eleutherios Kampanis "who had been working for forty years for the Society with exemplary zeal and honesty and was until recently working most actively in Vergilia..."⁷⁷ was unfit and became ill twice on Delos. Stavropoulos wrote about him, defending himself to the Ministry against inaccurate information supplied by the Director of the French School:⁷⁸ "Knowing him well and respecting his long years of honest service for the company, I put up with his inadequacy and, as much as possible, I personally filled in many hours every day for him, sometimes spending the entire day supervising the works in the museum."⁷⁹

The Museums of Mykonos and Delos existed solely because of Demetrios Spyridon Stavropoulos, his integrity and his tireless efforts. His father Stylianos Stavropoulos (1844-1883),⁸⁰ a teacher, fought as a volunteer in the 1866 uprising in Chios and his mother Sophia Vlachodimitriou (1828-1917) was from a family of fighters in the War of Independence in 1821, also a teacher, and principal of the secondary school in Piraeus. Demetrios, their only child, was born in Piraeus on 10 May 1872 and died in Mykonos on 10 November 1919. At the age of 18 years old he completed his studies at the University of Athens with *summa cum laude*, and on 10 June 1892 at the age of 22 years old, was awarded the degree of honorary Doctor of Philology. He entered the Archaeological Service in 1892 and worked at Delphi, Crete, Athens, Olympia, Sparta and Mistra. In 1892 he was appointed supervisor of the excavations in Delphi conducted by the French School at Athens, a position supervised by the newly appointed twenty-year-old:

"We cannot understand what is happening in Delphi. The supervisor there is Mr. Stein, Kastriopoulos, a distinguished scholar who performed his duty meticulously, but he was unable to stay there for long, owing to disputes with the people carrying out the excavations. Later, the Ephor Mr. Kastriopoulos in Kastriotes was sent to Delphi in his place, a decent, but stern man, most lenient in his behaviour, doing his duty mildly. But neither did Kastriotes manage to remain in Delphi for long, owing to his disagreements with those conducting the excavations, who made his life in Delphi unbearable. The ephor Mr. Kastriopoulos was replaced by the Ministry of Public Education, because there was no way to remove all accusations for contentious and contentious disagreements, and to make themselves pleasing to those conducting the excavations in Delphi."⁸¹

"Thus the young Stavropoulos was appointed who, in the conduct of his duty, suffered so many humiliations, complaints and ill will in the performance of his duty by the subordinate French employees who were conducting the excavations, that he almost reached the point of despair and the ministry hastened to recall him, having given in to the interminable appetites of the gentlemen of the French School. Mr. Kastriopoulos was subsequently sent as ephor, who because of his mild character was able to get on with a great deal and demonstrated the patience of Job, as Mr. Kavvadas desired, in eliminating despising or denigrating versions. But even Mr. Kastriopoulos, humiliated, vexed, and unable to do his duty there, was pushed so far that he had to abandon in order as much as possible to defend the rights of his government against the French subordinates and to protect the treasures in Delphi which were endangered in many ways."⁸²



The pouch used by Stephanidis-Sarantidis and cases by Eleonore Pippas. Its leather case and glass cases are kept in the Melkouros Museum. On the wooden part of the cases details are visible of small-type inscriptions written in Greek and Latin in 1870-1871.

Cited on the 2nd calendar of the Melkouros Museum, N. 200709
on page 100. Melkouros Museum, Ch. Pippas (1971).

Mrs. Ap. Stephanidis (1871-1959), the first Queen of Asia and later the first Queen of the Cyclades, was well liked and respected in Melkouros, despite her fact that his behaviour sometimes caused the Melkouros Ephor Spyros Michalides to complain: "The Lady Melkouros helps us at the moment when I knock with my knocking-pot (knock-knocker). The last -month and previous four months, she has been the most difficult woman I have met - with regard to the budget [to be covered] here by the house of the option".¹⁴

The photograph shows Mrs. Stephanidis on the left and Mrs. Eleonore Pippas on the right. Melkouros Museum, Melkouros, daughter of Lazaros Kotsopoulos, from Melkouros.

Meanwhile Stephanidis had chosen to "consign his hardships in Delphi to oblivion", although he was obliged to reply to Georges Sotiradis, candidate professor of history at the University and champion of the French School, in a series of articles published in the newspaper *Uniti*,¹⁵ to which he proposed: "When you are soon sacked by the government, throwing off your assumed lion's skin, since you assure us that you have a good knowledge of the German language - which no one denies you - I would recommend to you the position of director at the Acropolis. Do not think that Mr. Kastrakis bears a grudge".¹⁶

Georges Sotiradis did not become a director, but rather Ephor of the Acropolis and university professor; his enmity lasted for years. In 1911, in cooperation with M. Hollaues, Director of the French School, he endeavoured to be assigned supervision of the French excavations on Delos and the construction of the Delos Museum. On 3 May 1911, in a registered letter to Mr. V. Leonardos, Section Head of Antiquities Stephanidis wrote:

"I hope dear friend, that this long telegram of mine today will thwart the attempt by the vacuous Sotiradis, and that I will not be obliged to reveal publicly the reasons for which, desiring the position of Ephor, he demanded me to Hollaues, who without realising it, became his tool and perhaps the tool of an eminent trader in illegal antiquities [Concert], an old and close friend of the French School, who never fails to see me in Delos, and even though there exists in Delos an excellent school number (=Demosthenes Project) and Dean Ephor of the Cyclades based near Delos in [Hellas] nevertheless expressed his desire for the Ephor of the Acropolis to be sent there to supervise the excavations. But Mr Hollaues must understand that the time has passed when the high claims due to medals and contracts will be executed without being examined. He should, I believe, report officially the reasons for which he needs supervision by the Ephor of Delos and myself, and if upon investigation these reasons can be proved to be real and substantial, then again it would be proper for persons to be replaced but not the inappropriate interference by demands. There are husbands who tolerate the interference of third parties, but I am not one of them."

One of the major problems Biopesticides and IPM had to deal with, in order to fit this idea, is that the necessary materials had to be sent from Abroad, which meant long delays. But the materials Janmang which are now manufactured in India, from the "Mega Kalanjiya Foundation" (Mega Janmangayogam) in Hosur, Bangalore, number 1024 arrived in just 14 days. Anantamayi Arbinda and Dr. Sharadaprasanna, co-authors of this document, were present.



Mr. Japan "I have written with the hope" continued and repeated. "I have written a letter. I have organized the American Indians and Indians and taught Indians to gather the roots and plants. I have written a letter also containing information on Indians and Indians and stated the Indians as right to the Indians, railroad and modern history of the country. I have now published the book. Many such times did I keep myself from writing so that I would tear up and burn them, but I have done them all over the world and have rarely has it could have written. But last for last three generations. What is my fault, all the other ones are now. Other more honest than those who do their bad and break and then back. In the beginning again. — 125. Atami, Japan. Photograph taken by David L. Dickey, 1928.



**ПРОГРАММА
ДЛЯ АКАДЕМИЧЕСКОГО
ДИАСОНА-МУКОНОН**
ДЛЯ ИСК. А. Н. АБРАМОВОГО.
ПРИЧИНЫ ТОГО, ЧТО МОЖНО СКАЗАТЬ.



In my view, the divorce should remain after a due hearing. Otherwise, some person who comes in as third party has I am convinced that great caution and brotherly love will spare me the struggle that I have mounted so far, because I am not a man-eater."

三

Stavropoulos went to Mykonos for the first time in November of 1893 with a expense budget of 50 drachmas and instructions to gather the scattered antiquities of Delos in the "House of Lavrentios-Kampanis" and to hand over "the antiquities constituting the archaeological collection in Mykonos to its curator, the Mykonos School Principal Nikolaos Manoukakis."¹⁰

In 1898, he was assigned to supervise the French excavations at Delos and in 1899, following a competition, he was appointed Director of Antiquities in Olympia, where he remained until 1902, at which time he was replaced by Constantinos Karayannidis. He returned to Mykenai finally in 1897, initially as Director of Mykenae and Delos and, as of 21 March 1911 as first Director of the Cyclades. A year earlier, on 19 May 1896 he married Irene, daughter of Ioannis Katsilivas, with whom he had seven children, one approximately every two years: Eleni (21 January 1898), Sappho (30 December 1900); Iossi (7 August 1902), Phoebe (2 July 1904), Nikitas (8 April 1906), Petros (6 February 1908) and Leda (6 July 1910). Melina Andrikiou has given us a wonderful description of Sappho's residence starting out for Delos:

"Right and moment a giant of a man, tall and stout, burst into the harbour from a narrow lane, walking with two little girls. They were holding his coat-tail, a black walking stick, and an olive-grey umbrella. They went up to the sailor that was getting ready to cast off. The chief passenger got in, the engineer operators looked after him and made sure he didn't slip, the children hastened to get things over to be put into the cabin, sat in a chair and set up on the deck near the tambourine, and then the gentleman, seeing the girls standing on the jetty opposite, raised his cap and started saying, 'Nippies and Loris.'

"The gentleman is the upstart and they are his children ... Sappho and Lesbia circumvented the priest without anyone asking him. You see, the gentleman upstart is involved with the master and father about remains and they say that his family has been around them way back, which is why his children have been baptised with ancient names so as to preserve the line. Without troubling the girls. They are Esperanza, Lucia, Mariana, Nicanor, and Rosalia, and people call them the lost ones from Delos."

The plan, the initial design for the Museum of Delos was similar to that of the Museum of Mykene, but much larger. To ensure its halls plenty of light, it was in the shape of a horizontal + with arms of equal length joined together down a central axis. The style of the buildings was perfectly simple, without the neoclassical features of the Mykenean Museum. The initial designs were drawn up by Conforti and amended along the way by Stavropoulos. Perhaps because of the painful previous experience with the building of the Mykenean Museum, the decision was made to build the Delos Museum with wage-labour and not by contract. But the building of the Delos Museum, as had been the case with the Mykenean Museum, was for many years a permanent source of despair, indignation, disillusionment and bitterness for Konstantinos Stavropoulos. His legendary honesty and the integrity of his character brought him into almost constant conflict with the man responsible for the works. To add to his woes, in addition to the distrust of Athens, he had to deal with the Mayor of Mykene, Theodosios Christou, who dispatched a telegram to the Prefect containing charges that municipal land was being encroached upon:

"Representative of Archaeological Society in Delos has occupied principal land beyond site of archaeological excavations without notifying us to lay foundations and threatening to occupy an additional area of thirty acres of the island's most fertile land. Please take action to prevent illegal deeds in aforementioned representative, protecting the interests of our municipality which is obliged to pay compensation to tenants because of this occupation and will be harmed by the loss of rental in future."

Stavropoulos, replying to a telegram from the Prefect, clarified that:

"Delos Museum is being constructed on archaeological site. For its foundation unfortunately ancient walls are being dug up, but not beyond the site boundaries. No occupation or threat of occupying municipal land has occurred. I am sending report from Delos."

Thus, in order to construct the Museum of Delos without diminishing the pasturelands and revenues of the Municipality of Mykene, a quarter of the ancient city with wealthy residents was destroyed, as was ascertained in 1981 when the trench was dug for the electric wiring.

Stavropoulos's wife Efthimia, who was of course living on Mykene with their three young children (1, 2 and 3 years old), was in the ninth month of pregnancy (Phaedra was born on 2 July). Stavropoulos in Delos had to supervise the "major excavations" (Grandes Fouilles) by the French School and the works entailed in digging the foundations for the Museum in order to save whatever he could, while at the same time trying to organise the purchase and transport of materials and to fill in for the aged foreman Karampasis. Apart from all this, he was frequently obliged to write long reports to the Ministry or to the Archaeological Society to explain self-evident things, or to reply to the inaccurate information supplied by the Director of the French School and the French engineer H. Conforti in the Ministry and the Society. It is hardly surprising that the man died of cancer at the age of just 47.

Despite his frequent telegrams, the necessary construction materials were not sent on time, or the wrong or useless materials were sent and had to be returned. Not even the plans or the money arrived on time with the result that he had no more money from friends so as not to interrupt the works: "I am constantly upset by the lack of money and by the meagre deposit of 2000 drachmas sent to me by the Society, the failure to send promptly the quantities on the lists and the necessary mass supply of materials transported from a distance, and this shortfall has been supplemented up to now by me paying often from my own pocket and twice borrowing money from my friends in Mykene." In any event, from 31 May 1904, when the digging of the foundations began, to 20 November 1906 when the works were suspended, a total of 15,289.05 drachmas had been spent on wages and materials.

After Stavropoulos's persistent reports, the works were resumed in June of 1906. In September the construction of the south wing was completed, i.e. halls I, IV and V, and in October of the same year, the Delian

findings began being brought over from Mykonos. At the same time the statues began being placed on constructed benches and the findings started being recorded in the official catalogues of the Delos Museum. But by 1897, the Museum was already "crammed full, making it difficult to do any work in it, and if the excavations continue, adding new finds every day, we will be brought to a state of true bewilderment."¹¹

The necessary completion of the Museum's initial design, i.e. the construction of the north wing (halls VII-VIII), began in 1899 and was completed in 1911. The financial management was initially assigned to the Director Demetrios Laskos and later (on 24 August 1900) to Demetrios Pippas,¹² Curator of Antiquities on Delos from 1899 and second Ephor of Antiquities of the Cyclades from 1923 to 1933, when he died. The supervision of the works was initially assigned to H. Confort, or when Confort was absent to Joseph Replat,¹³ distinguished French architect, and then to Anastasio Orlando. Pippas, like Stamatakis, was a particularly methodical and systematic man and thus his files contain a full picture of the works carried out. Stamatakis' briefing of his new assistant must have been methodical, detailed and constant, and Pippas held him in high esteem until his death. Pippas' notes about the workers are interesting, and were perhaps dictated by Stamatakis:

Carpenters
1) Michael Apontos (Mykonian) fast, fish-eating. Good supervisor! robust. Content except when I insulted. Wages 1 dr.

2) Andros Alafassis (Mykonian). Moderate. Lazy, stupid, requires absolute supervision. Wages never more than 5 drachmas.

Plasterers

1) Melissos Lykourgos (Mykonian) the best of the Mykonians, methodical, but inexperienced in work on Delos, rather slow but by nature does not require supervision. Wages 1 dr.

2)ialis Lykourgos (Mykonian) Generally a mediocre craftsman, but experienced in work on Delos, very cunning, capable of winning over and flattering superiors. Supervisable and not. Wages 1 dr.

Painters

1) Eleutherios Paraskevas (Chios - Athens) Capable of fine craftsmanship. Needs some supervision. Must supervised as tank oil 1 dr. Plasterer and plaster. Wages 1 dr.

In 1899 a total of 19,300.20 drachmas was spent to build the two north halls, the northeast annexes, the heated storage areas in front of the Museum and a tool storage shed south of the Museum. In 1911 some deficiencies were made up; part of the Museum floor was tiled and the north guardroom was built, which became the house of the Curator.

The Museum very rapidly proved to be inadequate. The situation is described by Demetrios Pippas in a report written by him, but read by his friend Michael Kampanis at a municipal meeting of Mykonians on 9 September 1919:¹⁴ A large part of it is quoted here, not only because it condenses the history of the Museum up to that time, but also because of the eloquence of his language:

¹¹ The people of Mykonos gathered together today, on 27 September 1919, at the invitation of our beloved citizen Michael L. Kampanis, to a citywide assembly and meeting in the halls of the modest manor of the community of Mykonos, but based a detailed report by the aforementioned who said the following:

¹² The previous archaeological findings from the excavations in neighbouring Delos, for which very large numbers of people came increasingly from all over the civilized world, motivated by the desire to study, see and admire, would find home in our homeland Mykonos, in the great human and moral and material benefit of our island. For this reason, thirty years ago a small Museum was constructed on our island, so that these findings could be worthily exhibited.

¹³ That will long afterwards, owing to the very great extent of the excavations on Delos and of the concomitant growth [increase] of the findings therefrom, the Museum established on Mykonos was deemed insufficient, and, as a more advantageous solution, a decision was made for the Museum on Mykonos to be used solely for the archaeological findings from Mykonos and neighbouring Delos, and to establish another museum on Delos itself in the Delian antiquities based on a design that would be satisfactorily large and adequate for the future.

That even though a small section of this museum was built twenty-five years ago on Delos, since then no addition has been made to it and it has thus remained without the necessary supplementation and organization, rendering therefore completely inadequate for the exhibition of the total of antiquities in the museum, some of them had to be selectively transferred to Athens, or with few exceptions, have been packed in crates, invisible to visitors, as this museum lacked which for this reason has necessarily taken on the appearance of a warehouse of antiquities rather than that of a well organized museum, worthy of the treasures it houses.

"And this has happened because in the meantime, the opinion of the persons responsible, which was usually, as time went by, to pursue as unsuitable the initial action of establishing the museum for the Delian antiquities on Delos, because on this uninhabited island, the museum could not be protected with the required security, nor was it accessible and easy for scholars and the public to visit nor could the proper maintenance, nor has the conservation and constant maintenance of the museum been possible through the permanent residence on the island of an archaeologist and other relevant staff of technicians and guards as required.

"The case remains, although a quarter of a century has now elapsed since the decision to establish the museum, absolutely no effort has been made to supplement and complete it, which is why this small section that was built has now begun to deteriorate owing to the ravages of time, and already requires major repair and corrective maintenance.

"Things were thus, until a few days ago, when the Vice-Chancellor of the government finally visited Delos with the Director of the Archaeological Service and members of the Independent Tourism Organization, to examine the needs of this museum and other necessary and urgent actions for this most important archaeological site of Delos. And regarding the other necessary facilities on Delos, excellent decisions were immediately taken and promises were given that a beginning would soon be made on completing the works within months. And regarding the Museum of Delos, it was apprised finally that the existing section of this museum on Delos will be left incomplete and will be used henceforward as a temporary place for storing acquisitions stored and for all the other Delian antiquities which require a readily exhibited and permanent stability constant, to achieve these goals and to ensure its complete worth and the easy access of visitors and the general satisfaction of all its other ongoing needs, to establish a large and decent museum worthy of its treasures in a well inhabited city for security reasons, on one of the immediately neighbouring islands, namely that island which appreciating the honour and benefit that will accrue to it from this museum, will agree to contribute a large portion of the expenditure required for the foundation of same. That is more precisely on Mykonos in a portion of the museum already existing on it, near the neighbouring capital of the Cyclades because of its safety."

Then, having analysed in detail the reasons for which the Delos Museum should be on Mykonos,

"The People of Mykonos, appreciating their ancestral heritage and obligations to the Island of Delos and the sacredness of antiquities, grateful and longing for the honour and preference of establishing on Mykonos a large and permanent Delian Museum, recognising fully the sacrifices required from the inhabitants of the island in this regard, leaving last and foremost, to themselves and independent of all the above, the greatest affection and love and the utmost possible interest in the respected Delian antiquities as did their fathers before them... request that the newly elected Community Councils of the two island Communities of Mykonos and Aros Mera... be pleased to take and to honour this fact at this first meeting to code the total annual revenue of the island of Delos (Miles) the annual amount of 250 thousand drachmas, from the end of the current fiscal year and for a ten-year period, to the Antiquity Service of the State, so that the latter will undertake to find the total means and ways, along with a corresponding site safely, to make it possible to establish in good time on Mykonos the appropriate large and proper Museum in which all the existing Delian antiquities will be transferred including all those from every where in the country, together with similar ones from Rheneia and Mykonos, from all periods, and with a section of the Delian Archive of the Island of Mykonos."

Needless to say, the will of all the Mykonians was accepted by the Community Councils of Mykonos (23 September 1989) and Aros Mera (10 September 1989). It is obvious that the entire issue was raised by Themistocles Pippas, who not only wrote the resolution read by his friend Michael Kampanis at the assembly

My of Mykonos, but he also drafted the decisions of the Community Councils and the documents that accompanied these decisions when they were forwarded by the Communities to the Ephor of Antiquities of the Cyclades, i.e. to himself. Although the accompanying letters are dated 5 and 10 October, Pippas had drafted the telegram and report to the Ministry as early as 2 October, as well as private telegrams to Professor Constantinos Romanos, who was studying the findings from Rheneia, Th. Petropoulos, Chairman of Tourism and Mr Kainophylas, Prefect of the Cyclades and friend of his, requesting that they "contribute presumably to the speedy acceptance" of this proposal and asking the latter two men to meet with Michail Karapanis who obviously went to Syros and Athens for this purpose. Pippas, who was terrified of the idea that the Delian antiquities might possibly be moved to Syros, had no trouble convincing the Mykonians since Mykonos had started to become known and tourism was developing there, owing mainly to Helios.

It is not known why this proposal was rejected. Perhaps because as early as 1928, the Community of Mykonos had already "mortgaged" Delos for a few years to the Deposits and Loans Fund as collateral for a loan floated in 1928 to finance the electrification of the island.¹⁵

In 1931, an appropriation of £30,000 drachmas was approved for the extension of the Museum of Delos, a project that was assigned to the contractor Ioannis Pissas. The works were overseen for a brief period by Markellis Mousas, Curator of Antiquities for the Cyclades, who soon left Delos "due to fear of ghosts". From 20 August 1931 to April 1933, the works were supervised by Georgios Bakalakis, who was completing his literature degree. Pippas was already ill, so they communicated by letter, which Bakalakis would send him almost every day, and in which he reported on the works being done in great detail, and asked for advice.

Delos October 1931

Estimated Mr. Curator

"Yesterday I did not manage to be in Delos before 1 p.m. because, between Mykonos and the island of Delos, Matheus' engine broke down. Athanas was off yesterday, and with sails in a great strong wind we were able to approach from the east and arrived from. Luckily Skaropoulis's boat was fishing, so I called him and he fetched us into Delos at around 1:00 p.m. in his rowboat. There were huge waves and wind. The others came from Rhodes at about 5 p.m. in a little boat and none were all than me... It seems to me that it wouldn't be good to build the shelter as the corner near the wall goes up to 3 m. because then it'll be split, since the main door is 2.50 m. high and the other 2 m. and 2.50 m. up to the ridges. If the first shelf starts at 2 m. from the corner of the door to the staircase no shelf will fit..."

For some unknown reason, even though their collaboration was excellent for many months, in March 1933, Pippas was so disenchanted with Bakalakis that he wrote a long report to the Ministry from Athens, where he was in hospital, asking that Bakalakis not be rehired because he no longer had any confidence in him.



Four views of the building of the Museum, 1930-1933 (photographs by G. Pippas, 1930-1933)



The Museum had established 1923. The sculptures he set up included
temples, on the floor and on the upper gallery, in the background is
one of a few important ones removed by the Germans. Right is
the main hall of the Archaeological Institute in about 1960.
Opposite page: The hall of the Museum in early 1960s.



11.1



Fig. 9. Museum display before



...I was finally convinced by many other observations and indications that not only as an employee should he not enjoy any favour or confidence and appreciation, but in general as well, because although earlier I had investigated him unshakably and entirely without examining him, I have just now realized clearly that L. Rev. as others had been led entirely credulously by the deceit with which in the beginning he was always very skilled at presenting himself.

"For all of these reasons, it is my duty to make known to the Government Ministry that at the museum, performed by the above-mentioned for me was not preparing in a few days, but up to the present month of March this year, I would have been obliged unreservedly to take, as the only possible decision, that of sending him away from my sphere, urgently and immediately, as he does not in the least obey me nor does he in any way inspire in me the necessary trust, on which case if not everything in the archaeological service is based, i.e. with respect to any relations whatsoever between the superior employees and subordinates, permanent ones, and much more toward temporary staff."

The works, which were completed in May 1935, changed the appearance of the Museum dramatically. In addition to the enlargement and the creation of two atriums, the tile roof was replaced by a concrete slab, two porticos in front of the Museum were finished, a porch was added together with a hemispherical dome above the main hall, and thus the Museum acquired a neoclassical form. In a contemporary newspaper, it is reported that "soon its sculptures will start being replaced in its halls in a more commanding way and their artistic merit will be shown to better advantage."¹¹ But during the enlargement of the building, the disorderly and unsystematic moving of the antiquities that Kakalakis executed arbitrarily - provoking the rage of the methodical Pippas - and in particular the illness and later the untimely death of Pippas, who was the soul of the Museum, created such chaos that for decades nothing could be done but to search, identify and arrange the old findings, a task that was only recently completed.

In 1924 Christos Karavazis sent a report¹¹⁷ to the Ministry about the terrible state of the Museum together with a request for funds, which he did not receive. He did the same in 1927, 1928, and 1929 with no substantial result. In his report of 1927, he spoke of the "deplorable state of the sculptures in particular, but also of the pottery in the Delos Museum, a state that was created as a result of the enlargement of this Museum six years ago" and requested 50,000 drachmas "so as to start putting the statues on bases and to begin fitting together at least the most important sculptures."¹¹⁸ In 1929 he virtually begged for 10,000 drachmas, wishing: "To this day, all the statues are still lying on the floor of the halls, either complete or in detached pieces, and the small findings (pottery, bronzes, etc.) are piled up in a few out-dated display cases. And thus in reality the Museum of Delos is unworthy of the name, deserves the name irretrievably in the eyes of its many visitors, officials and others, and amuses justified indignation from them and from scholars, because it is practically impossible to see or to study the objects. To put the Museum fully into order, a large expenditure will of course be required, but a start at least has to be made sometime. And for this purpose, a small amount is sufficient..."¹¹⁹ The tragic condition of the findings was not the only problem Christos Karavazis had to deal with. In that same year, in another report, he described in desperation the dangers resulting from the lack of the necessary guardians: "Much earlier and more recently I lamented the deplorable condition of our Service on Delos to the Respected Ministry — and the dangers that I have addressed during the past year, through desperate personal efforts, over which I sweated blood, as the saying goes, but regrettably without results..."¹²⁰ During the period in which Karavazis was assigned to the Cyclades, the General Ephor of Antiquities was Spyros Marinatos.

Everything Karavazis succeeded in doing, was undone by the war:

"In the morning of the 9th inst., the Italian Military Commander of the Cyclades Mr Giovanni Ducci arrived on Delos aboard auxiliary ship No. R.173 of the Italian fleet accompanied by six Italian officers and 140 armed soldiers. After visiting the archaeological sites and taking photographs, they headed toward the Museum there and after examining the ancient objects, asked the guardian how many thousands of drachmas they would charge to sell these objects, as though not knowing that they were not for sale. The guardian, as was natural, replied negatively, in which case the Italians took some of the crew and gave themselves over to random digging, while at the same time the sailors, upon instruction, carried marble antiquities and sections of mosaics to the ship. After that, two of the officers accompanied by the Commandant and one soldier collected the goods and at about 4 p.m. visited the Museum again, where they ordered the latter to open the display cases so what the antiquities are kept. From these cases they removed a valuable rock figure (kouros) in excellent condition, two pieces elongated ovalish, beautifully preserved, and about ten globular ones large and small. Similarly, they removed two small clay heads and about five parts of a vessel with embossed representations, as well as the Museum's unique coin, number 231, and two marble statuettes.

"At the time the officers were looting the display cases, the soldiers opened the drawstring on the table at which tickets were sold, and removed about one thousand five hundred (1500) drachmas. As they were leaving the Museum, they offered the guardian an tip-top five-hundred-drachma note, which, despite the latter's persistent refusal, they placed double in their pockets. The two five-hundred-drachma notes were that same day deposited by the guardian in the Museum of Mykonos, to which they travelled in the evening of the same day to report on the events to the local authorities there."

"While boarding the ship for departure, the Italian captain said in Greek to the guardian that they would be back 2-3 days later to pick up other antiquities."¹²¹

Eight days after this regrettable event, the Ministry set up a three-member committee to "secure the antiquities in the Museum of Delos."¹²² The committee comprising curator of antiquities Georges Halkakis, special curator of antiquities Georgios Dimas, and president of the community of Mykonos Konstantinos Georgopoulos, worked on Delos from 12 October to 8 November 1941. The sculptures were placed between constructed pedestals and an effort was made "not to damage detached fragments identified by the last Ephor as fragments of certain sculptures seen (by him)." Some of the Museum doors were sealed off by walls, others were nailed shut, and many antiquities were placed in cases with sawdust and paper. But since wood was expensive, the cases were simply "placed face to face and sealed with the personal seal bearing the monogram G.H." Notes were made on the wooden shelves of the display cases indicating the cases that were returned from Syros and those that were missing. The protocol drawn up by the committee reports the esti-

lence of "Mits" in the halls, under which the Hellenistic sculptures were placed. But concealing the Museum's antiquities did not stop the looting of Delos. In 1942, "The Commander of Mykonos Lieutenant Gen. Valentini removed two sections of mosaic from the archaeological site of Delos (House of the Masks). Between 14 and 16 April 1942, Italian officers who had come from Andros and were being hosted by the Commander removed a bronze vase from the Museum."¹¹

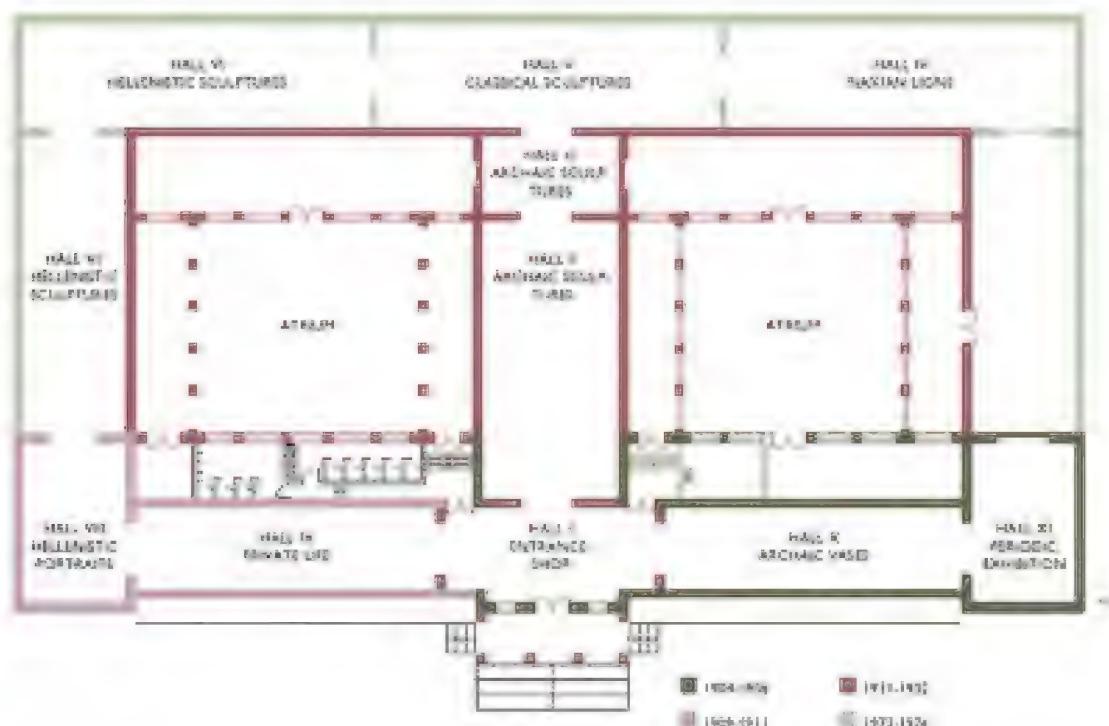
After the war, Nikolaos Kountouriotis initially and Nikolaos Zaphirisopoulos later tried to impose some order on the chaos and catalogue the antiquities, a task that continues to this day.

Despite the extensive repairs to the building in 1949, 1953, 1954, 1963, 1968 and 1989, the problems were not solved; and between 1972-1976 general repairs were carried out and the Museum was enlarged. At that time, the neoclassical features on the building were removed and replaced by a pseudo-classical facade.

The Museum of Delos today occupies an area of 2,419 m², and has two interior open-air courtyards with a total area of 200 m². It contains 14 exhibition halls, 11 of which are open to visitors.

The findings from the excavations on Delos are kept in the Museum, and include all or part of some 30,000 vessels, statuettes, small objects, 8,000 sculptures, and 34,000 inscriptions. Most of the sculptures and a few pottery vessels and small objects are exhibited in the Museum's eleven halls.

The number of visitors (about 120,000 per year) has increased steadily over the past decade. Between November and February, there are very few visitors. The main activity starts suddenly in March, culminates in August or September and drops off abruptly in November.

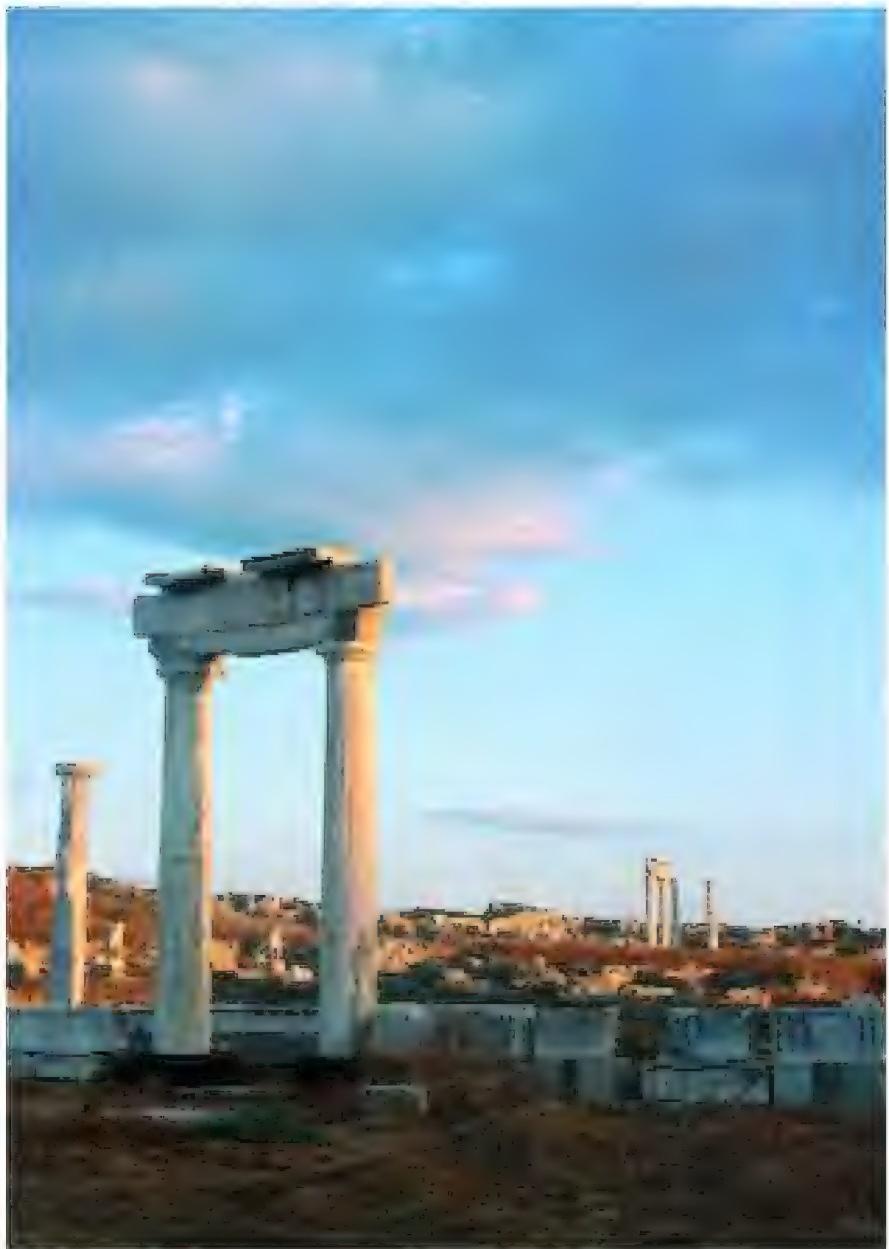


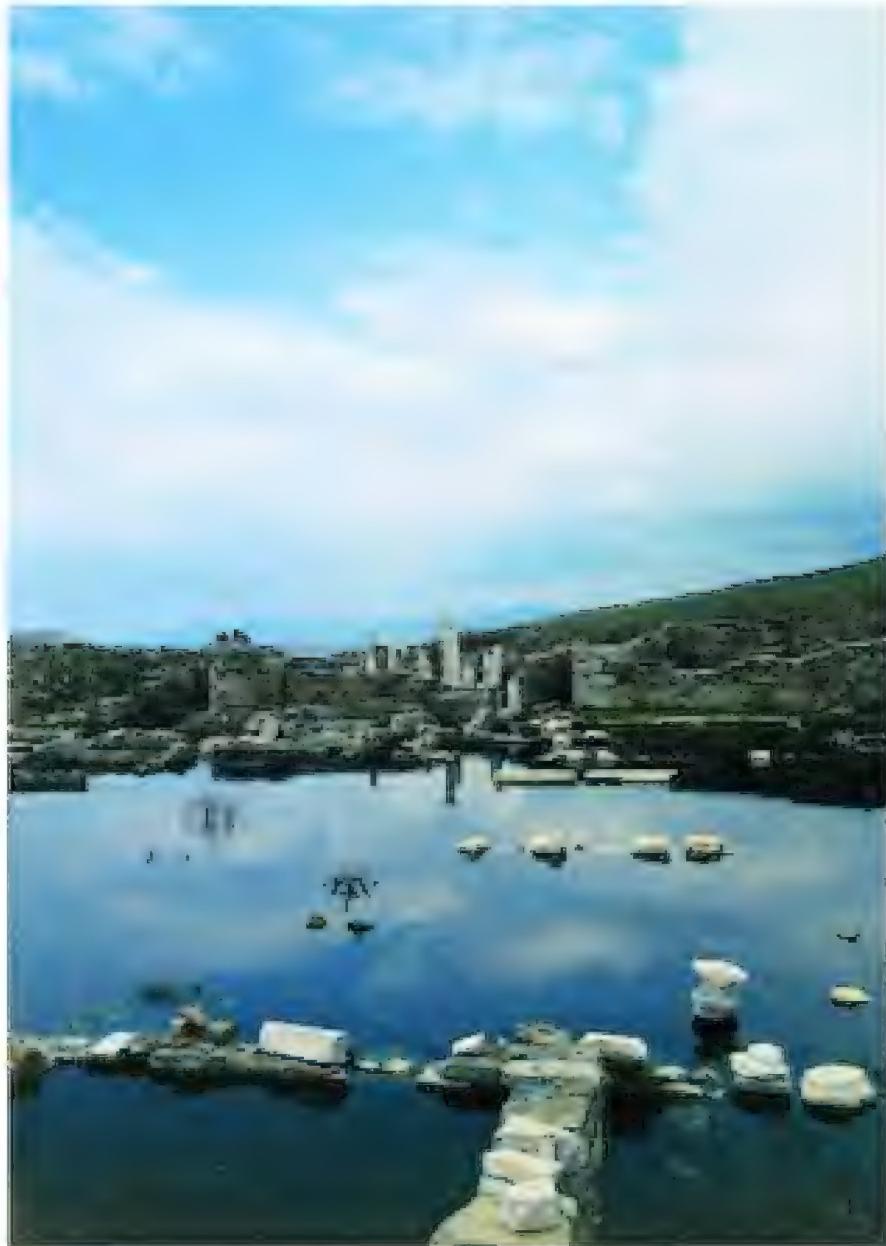
The floor plan of the Museum today, including its numerous extensions and additions.





Aerial photograph of the ancient part of the Babylonian town Uruk. At the left is the oval-shaped mound Eanna and above it is the Agorai of the Eanna, the sanctuary and the filled artificial hill. Higher up, the houses of the Thresh-quarter can be distinguished and the retaining wall of the Thresh. Below-right is the hill belonging to the Eanna-quarter and the houses in the Thresh-quarter. The photograph was taken in 2002. Meanwhile, the ongoing work of conservation and restoration has changed the appearance of the site with the discovery of new monuments and the clearing of ancient tracks.





11

61)



The first view seen by the passengers came in fact of a sun hidden in haze. This being very poor change in opacity, when the water glister on the buildings and the sunlight directions reflected the housing Cycladic light making the city look traditional almost suspended between the blue of the Aegean and the clear sky.



In the unenclosed parts there are many steps and verandas that open onto the sea, but have virtually no connection with the city. During the first of the revolution they had been destroyed by revolutionaries. Once water flooded in the lake ("cost. 16"), "it could impound expectation of thousands of slaves on the same day, which accounts for the name: 'deadland' (area in the great inland, and everything is salt!)."



In the uppermost Aswan of the Egyptian River are well temples dedicated to Horus, and of Amun, but also god of the sun; there are also many cylindrical, marble staves, which offering by private citizens to the Sun-horus.



The red geraniums here are more reminiscent of vernacular rustic culture, i.e. those old flower boxes with a touch of playfulness to add.

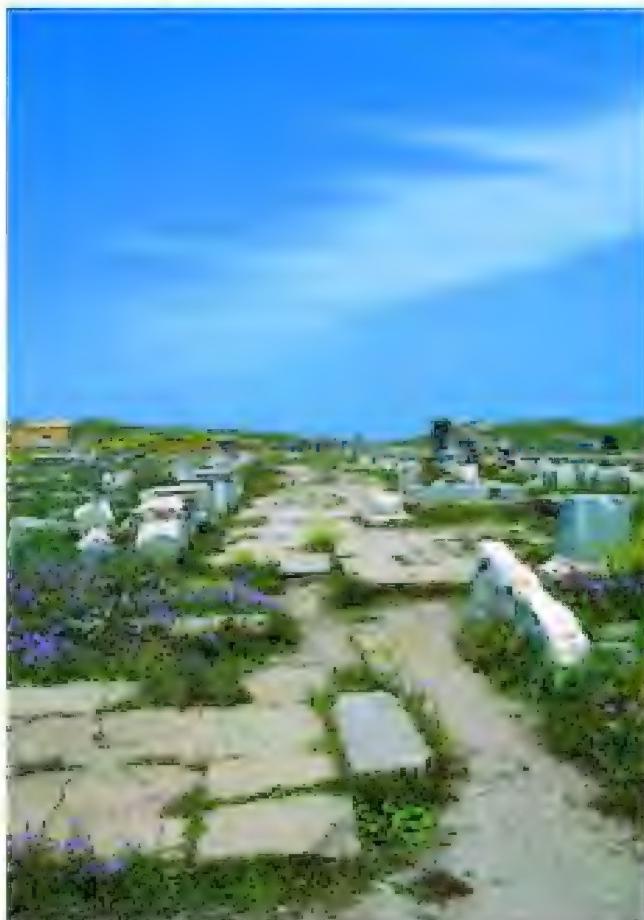


The broad avenue leading to the harbor of the sanctuary state in the Ages of the Competitors. On both sides of the street there are porticos, in which pilgrims could find cool shade, meet with friends or buy souvenirs.



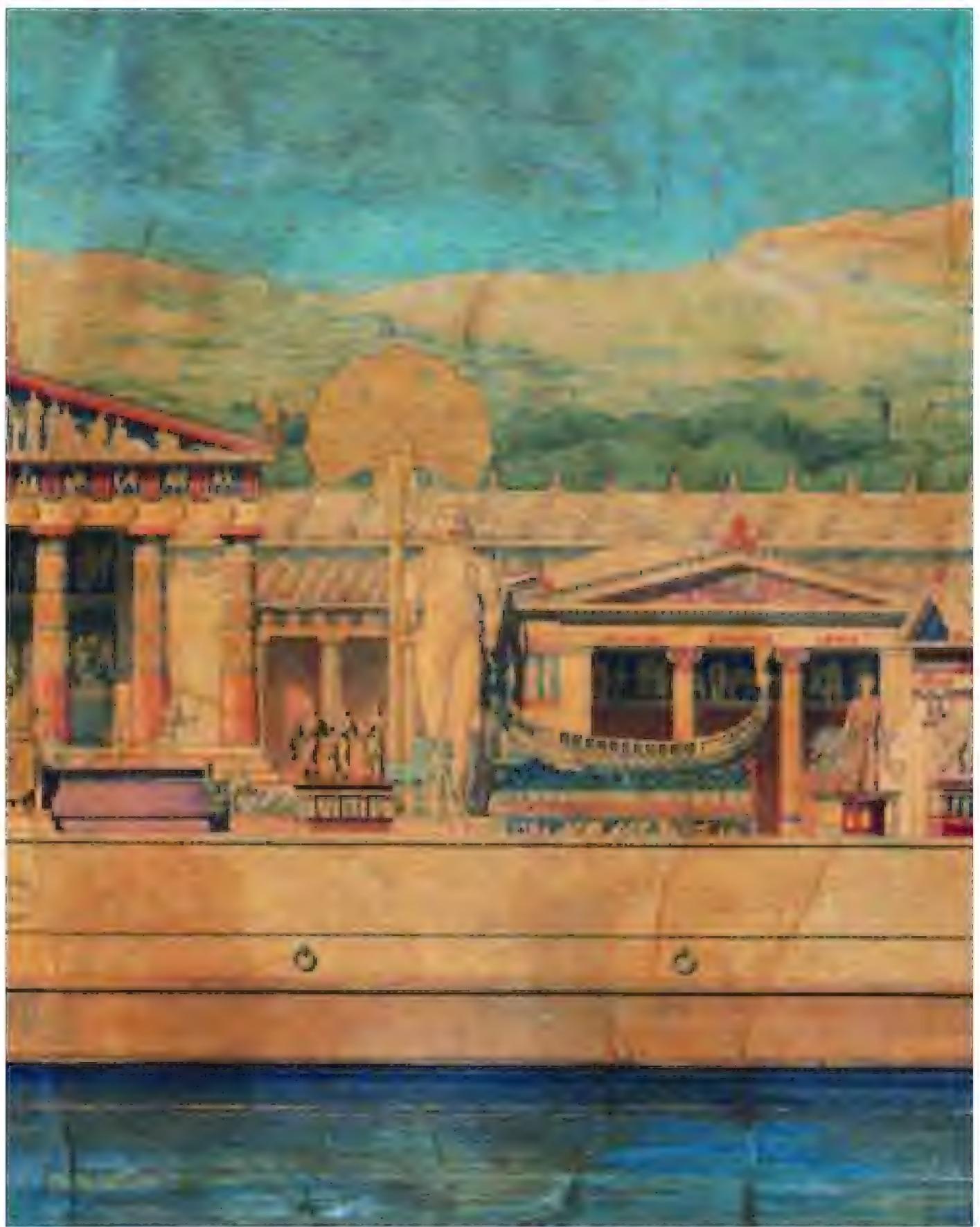


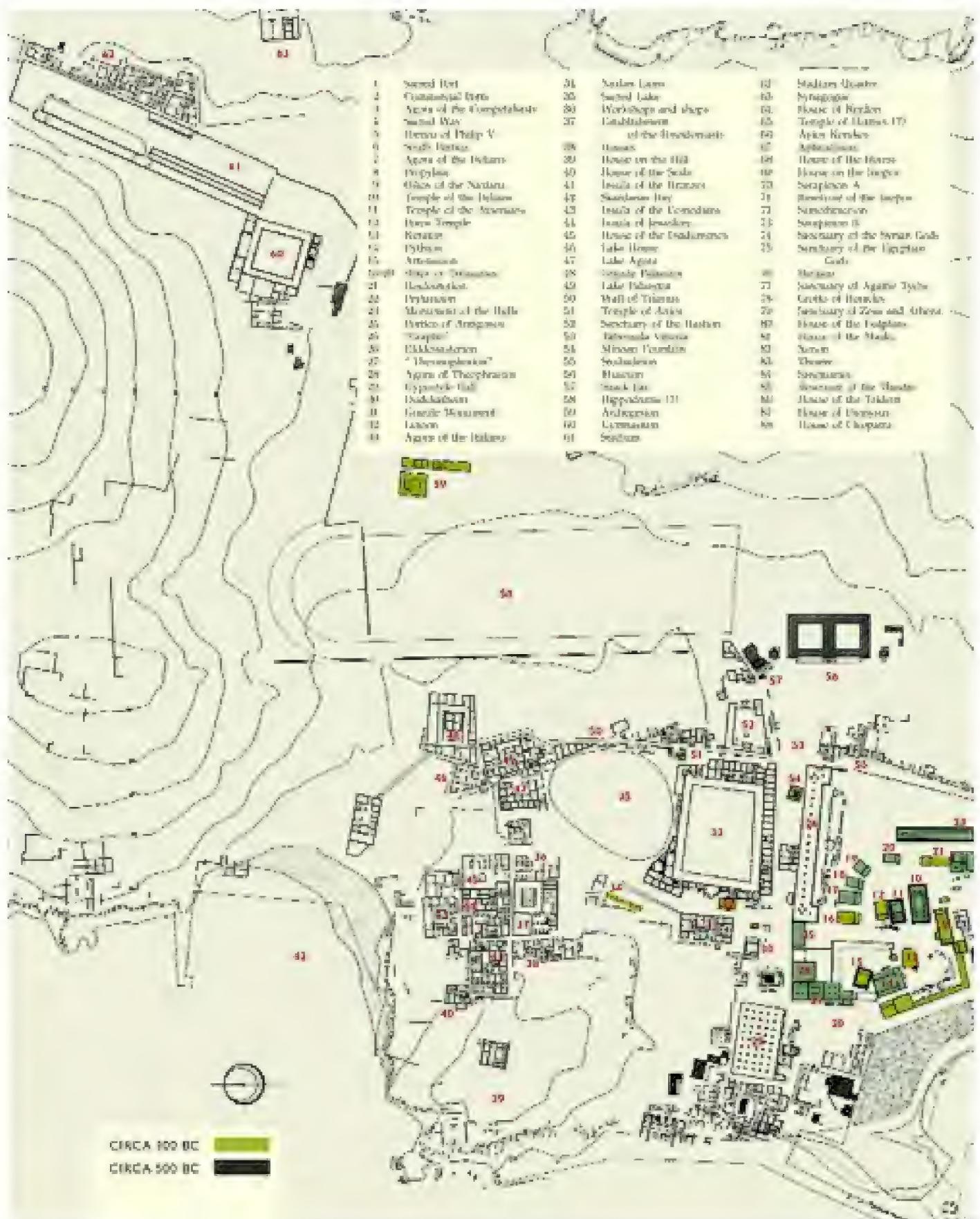
The well-down marble steps of the Propylaea (C) left, and behind the large number of people who visit the sanctuary. The arched colonnades after the Propylaea, across the Naumachia and onto the stadium porticoes. In the background, the Naumachia are clearly visible. To the right of the Naumachia is a herm dedicated by the Amphictyonic in 361 BC.



Following page:
Archaeological reconstruction
of the Naumachia by F. Rizzo
(see Fig. 11-12).
In the center is
the Temple of the Chians
to the right of which is
the Column of the
Naumachia and the herm just
pre-decorated to
the god at 417 BC (S.
the Intermediate Years).







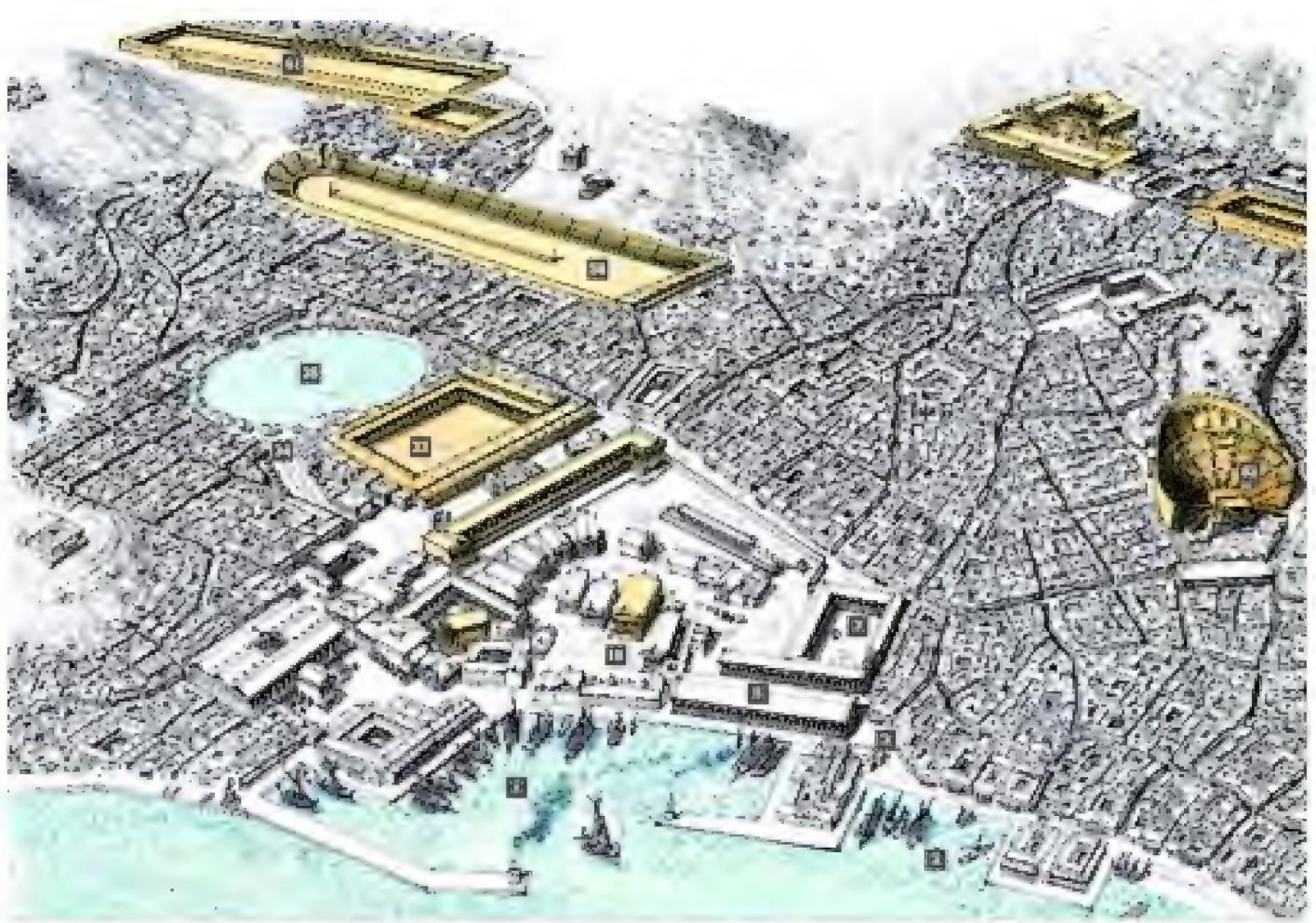


General plan of the central part of High Street:
The buildings that have been measured include, then, the houses of the High Street between them at the north end of
High Street, a dwelling house with four fire-places built
up.
The plan began to change characteristically at
the end of the 17th century, when various plots were being
developed.
To test the effect of the
building schemes in High
Street, we made there a
small plot, of which has been
measured, given roughly below
in a few details after 1700
and partly reconstructed to
afford the following:



The stone of Byblos, one of the few ancient buildings in the Near East, was quarried only in the 17 cent. B.C., because Phoenicians adopted the marble arches.





Reconstruction of the necropolis and the central part of the city
(Dr. Cane, 2003 example 1993).
It is estimated that at the beginning of the
Ptolemaic era some 30000 people were
living in the big city, which is more
than twice older than the city of the
Middle Kingdom,
and that 20000 men of merchandise and
20000 slaves could probably
live there around Memphis for a year. Below is a reconstruction of
the necropolis (Dr. Cane, 2003).
www.egyptian-museum.net





ABOVE: The fine temple of Apollo and the House of the Masks reconstructed. Above: what has been preserved today. To the right is the enormous marble base of the Apollo of Pausanias. The short distance between the harbour and the port facilitated the transportation of the marble. What is missing was planned and only their foundations have survived.



Axemenid bronze figures from the cult temple of the Alburni. Heros, king of Theseus, abduces princess Helenina. Sculpture of Theseus and Helenina. Left and right two-thirds of Theseus' torso in terracotta. Despite the heavy corrosion – the work was exposed to the north wind of the Aegean for at least four centuries – the powerful bodies of the protagonists through their Chapmanian portraits. The central sculpture on the rear side depicts the Greek hero Theseus abducting the handsome Cupid-like, another son of the Alburni, son of Heros and Demeter (now, sister of Theseus).
During a difficult period (420–400 BC) the Athenians used these compositions to praise their man-servants and to publicise their divine qualities and the purity of the young people of Attica, in an effort to justify and sanctify their partly imperialistic policy in the Aegean.



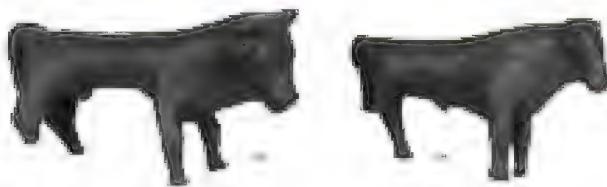


Under the later reign
of Ashoka a dependent
monastic community
was established.
In Magadha period
1st cent. BC. Illustrating
among them is a purple
deity holding a mace with
a small bell-shaped knob,
a large eight-shaped shield and
a spear.
Other items shown include
an arrow or spear
of Parshuram, long and
prolonged descending hook. The
purple figure is represented by Upashama girl.





This photograph, also known as a view of a 'P' site, reveals much about the setting of Aravinda. To the left are the first surviving parts of the Apadana of the Naryene and Pekka Dara in the south zone of the state of India. The pillars, known as 'Asoka Columns', were erected by Asoka, mentioned in the inscription, having found the sanctuaries of Agnideva, Olympia and Indra, destroyed. Aravinda is a floodplain, and it is here that the fragments of the gold are found.



Dark silhouettes of horses and bulls, corresponding to the sculpture in the 'P' site. □





This statue of Niobe (engaged Niobe) (Plaque). The seated plaque was found at the temple of Niobe while the statue was probably dedicated to the Artemis of Arkesina, son of the Chalcidian sculptor Nikokles, between 480-460 BC. In both cases the figure is supported by the drapery of the cloth which covers her. The suspended head instantly recalls the scene of the three hours that is on the post of taking off or leading.

Statue of a seafarer that served on a high level
officer in the American fleet since
days of blockade. It looks as though all
members are known.
A good deal of American military, naval force
above who are outside the majority of the
group. You'll know they are all name
spelled by a code here.





bronze of form. Bronze votive offerings in Armenta. The earliest has been dated to c. 520 BC, and the other two with the heads studded (dates to c. 320-300 BC). Bronze probably and strong, length 20 cm. In fact, exhibited the elegant postural figures of the gods.

The sculpture of the animal seems
to have the main role, which is always
represented male and masculine, known culture.
of the Roman period, as previously showed, to be
more or less strong and elegant, but
without an underlying suggestion of sensuality
or eroticism.



III. 1



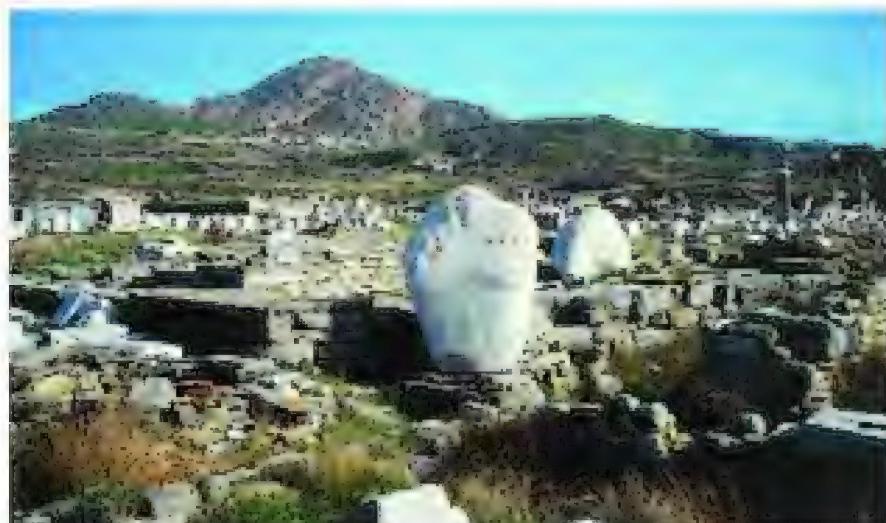


The piece of the funerary bier is supplemental by a series of "portraits" of priests placed on the necks of their cases. In making the same portrait, the owners of the biers and those flesh portraits are the last representatives of ancient cults that have died out. These last ones until just a few decades ago would have always depicted with their hair always tied up or back behind the head, which was also frequently covered. Twenty five hundred years after the early eight cultures when the female body was first painted made its Debutante's Coming of Age, this goddess is still shown with her hair completely tied back.





ΟΝΡΥΤΟΜΘ ΟΡΜΑΝΔΡΙΝΣΚΑΙΤΟΣ ΟΡΗΝΑΣ



Despite the confirmed source of the statue of the Naxian, an extensive marble base consisting about 50 tons stood the Colossus of the Naxians, a huge statue of Apollo about nine metres tall, erected in the early 6th cent. BC. The god was represented in the kouros type, and perhaps held his base and crown in his hands, or the three Graces.



Aquila of the Nevers installed by Laurent Maré. "The elements of nature that have been following him for so many centuries have now taken possession, almost nothing has remained of him other than the strong beauty of the chest and back. He is now like a very large stone partly broken by the waves. (You might say that only the soul of the statue has remained, despite, or perhaps because of this it equals even brash)" (G. Tolosa, *Ortiz Alvaro*)

III



Triangular base and statue of Naxian Kouros, marble offering to the sanctuary of Apollo. The kouros was made around 580 BC as the second half of the 7th century BC is associated with a certain base in Icaria. Below – marble kouros produced later for a much longer period. The almost quadrangular Naxian Kouros are distinguishable by their broad chests and the applied, summary treatment of their anatomical details. On the Icarian works, the musculature is more pronounced, and the bodies are more elongated, athletic and refined making them look lighter and more flexible.







In the North and West of Anatolia
these achievements in the Sanctuary of Uzuncaburç, where
many people would visit and admire them. In the
splendid capital cities of their lands, such as
Assos, they displayed the disciplined strength of its men, the
achievements primarily of an army
and its superior culture.
At the same time, they displayed the products
of their power in the sanctuaries, hoping
by large offerings to secure salvation in heaven.

Head of a terracotta ruler
15th-12th c. BC





The few worn offerings from the isolated CP east of show that the cemetery had lost most of its prestige. The broken bowls of the funerary rite already a thing of the past. From the period of the "ancient-style", a period when amphoras were made long for two explosive groups (the earlier ones from the first chamber, just last before the addition of another) have been preserved. From time to time during Roman burials (except the last) elements of cultic continuity are still visible, the continuation of the ancient bodies and the secondary deceased in new enclosed contexts. To the right a dark-clad figure is ready to feed the dogon, the last holding on his right hand and to the left is another elderly person helping a young



In the Apollo of the Bowmen and the cult statue by Tyndareus and Aglaeion, Apollo is depicted as both benefactor and avenger. The figure on the right hand holds the bow and arrow, while the bow in his left is a permanent reminder of how harsh he can be to those who displease him. With the stringing bow he killed the Pythian, as well as the children of Niobe, and with the bow he caused many other Greeks among countless other squirming disasters and deaths. The relief and cult deposit statue by Tyndareus and Aglaeion. To the left of the god's head, Heracles is portrayed carrying a shield on his shoulders and to the right is Ares. Behind it is probably part of a diadem (photo, Tschauder).



Apollo of the Bowmen and the cult statue by Tyndareus and Aglaeion. Terracotta relief fragment (photo, Tschauder).





Statuettes of Aphrodite's lover, the youth Eros (left) and Adonis (right), from the Hellenistic period. Aphrodite is always pictured as the youth described by Callimachus: "ever beautiful, ever young... he on whose slender cheeks no down nor shadow rests, from whom there take fragrant oil drops upon the ground".



In a long history Hitler frequently called self-guaranteed "victors" most right and virtuous, whereas right-wing forces with the former, Hitler often based his entire policy upon the assumption of their being inferior. Hitler was, however, somewhat at odds himself, and this was one reason why he had trouble in getting his policies accepted by the Nazi party. He was, in fact, the last man to accept the traditional goals of the party, and not at the meeting where Hitler gathered his party did they adopt such heresies as the racial purity laws. It was not until after the reorganization of the "political" section of the Nazi Party and its first general meeting that the traditional goals were again adopted, in particular those of *Germany* of the *people*, of *freedom*, *justice*, and *order*, and *the free State*. ("Germany and Justice," *Germany and Justice*, *Germany and Justice*).

卷之三



Fragment of a marble torso from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, 1st c. A.D.
Height 1.10 m. (3 ft. 7 in.)
The torso and arms of
the god are complete. It is
presented either in the frontal
view or in profile to the right.
It was originally made
with his head and the lower
part of the torso removed and
was private property,
as far as







The figure on page 156, 160 may be copied from the statue-type of "Leda-Apollo" (1), which was found at Orgon, a Massalia colony. In statue 160 which is a copy of the Leda-Apollo by Praxiteles, the girl is sleeping on those Grecian shields, recalling the rest of the Gauls outside the sanctuary of Delphi early in the 3rd cent. B.C.





In the original, Apollo has golden hair, bright blue eyes, and yellow leaves around his head, much like later representations of his successor in the temple at Delphi. In some representations of the god, his features resemble those of the sun-god Phoebus.



Draped relief, described by Arrianus
as "Bacchus with
the epithet of Bacchus."
2nd cent. bc.



The Muse Polymnia, personification
of memory, logic and beauty, is
depicted draped.
In her hands she holds
the scroll shield of Apollo
Musagetes, whose names
the Muses have been given.
As divinities of song, lyrics, music,
drama, poetic inspiration and generality
of artistic creation, they undoubtedly
inspired the actions of the god.







The length and grace of the pen is...
also accompanied by the impulsive appearance
of the cursive script.
Ex. Liane, Nancie, and Maria,
who supplement and extend the usage of
cursive script. These 3 individuals place the
cursive, Impulsive cursive, Cursive and Cursive
are mixed into a rich writing. 274-280 m.



1. Diseases of Mammals and Insects
Mammalian Diseases: Diseases of animal origin.
Insects: true or among insects, you are closest to us.
Malicious outbreaks of insect pests occur in all countries,
and animals are affected and great damage is suffered.
Diseases caused by the disease: the disease
can easily break body and death
of the animal. Disease and Plant and Microorganism
Diseases and Insect and Microorganism and Disease
insects, in the case of insects and the presence of large numbers
cause significant, serious problems to plant protection
and other areas of agriculture and pastoral economy.

111



Mycenaean diademed seated woman,
daughter of Nestor or Niobe, sister of
Agamemnon and wife of Pittheus, dedicated
to her mother Artemis by her c. 650-600 BC.
The most ancient 'Mona Lisa' and the largest
statue of the Mycenaean period, which has
been found on Mycenae.



Above: relief with Artemis holding a cornucopia
of various objects to give birth, and an alabaster
vessel (page 122-123).
Below: leg and support from marble table with
the representation of seated Artemis.



A terracotta figure of a person riding a horse, performing a dynamic pose. This is a good example of the expressive style of the sculptures. It depicts both the dynamic movement and the physical effort involved in the movement of the horse and rider. (ca. 120-130 AD)



Two terracotta female figures from the Chigi Chapel, showing front and back views.





Terracotta Artemis found at Salamis. Height 1' 6". Period, H. 500 B.C. on the girdle - of the last worn look of soft leather and a short robe. Her hair is tucked in front, covering and closing her neck.





During the period in which Attic vase-painting of Archaic scenes became more refined, this relief was added to a Herma and to the fragments. Relief representing Archaic Elegy-singer with a dancing dog. From the Dionysos-Herma. Early 5th cent. BC.



In a rural sanctuary of Archaic colour, statue is placed over little reliefs under the golden boughs of Armento II in the costume of Armento, is preparing a sacrifice. A young Suor lights the fire on the altar and another carries the flesh necessary for the sacrifice.







This relief depicts the sacrifice of a pig and a goat to Artemis. Worshippers raise their right hand in greeting with reverence. (c. 5th century BC)





Hands and a lozenge with representations of Artemis.
Nos. 222 represents the statue of Epeorus. Artemis
226 and 228 is Artemis holding in her left hand and a
concentric circle a later type Artemis, probably
of cultus, and on the left a replaced head, a late
work in the tradition of this master. In her sanctuary
at Ephesus, she was worshipped as Artemis-Hecate



These beauty gods; and others
made unoccupied
In the quiet of the dead.
The bending, unreturning
of her dogs, and tame as people
walking a right.
She is the power goddess
of creation, when she touches
relatives and guides in their
mortal condition of change
gods. These local deities are
and land of Dougla
only 7 cent. B.



Arranged in a semi-circle, a few metres after the last temple of Apollo, are the ruins of the Tholos or Treasury from the classical period. These small temple-like structures, offerings by various Hellenic cities, were used mainly as accommodation or hangout hubs for pilgrims and later, when the temple had become fallingly ill, they were used to keep valuable objects and numismatic offerings. In front of the Tholos are chariot from the Temple of the Delians.



The Thermes of the Hills, a long narrow building from the 1st cent. BC, probably housed a grove dedicated to Apollo after a cultic renewal battle. The grove was decorated with Nymphs riding on dolphin and dolphin keeping their appetites.







The city goddess was also kept from under the protection of Urdha, the Great Mother of the Gods whose sanctuaries the Romans have been in the Samanid C.



In the Hypogeum (left) the sacred Guard of the city (top left right, from the same period, at public expense around 1000 AD) had collected exceptional works of art.





The god Horus
sits in a chair, his
hands raised in the
famous gesture often
not identified with Ra.
Horus and Osiris and the
two falcons
are the United south and
Mysteries of the gods.
The Ushabti can now
bring the deceased and the
deities of salvation back to
the human. Osiris was fairly
popular in the eastern
the Fayoum. Also,
the goddesses of the
company were not at all
popular in Lower Egypt. In
central Egypt,



Terracotta figures
of Kinnaris. 1st century.





The temple of Amorgos was built in about 230 BC by the king of Macedonia Antigonus Gonatas, as stated in the inscriptions he left behind. King Antigonus won Macedonia in April, via the last resistance, against another with bulls' heads. The altar of Poseidon Eleutherios, presented at the 18th cent., which was dedicated by his friend Matus son of Zenon in about 100 BC, gives us idea of the height of the altar and the pillars that he probably presented with 100 talents of silver dollars.



The hillside around Sainte Anne's cemetery. On top of the ancient structures, early Christian basilicas were erected and the bishop built his See here.



On the hill above the monumental Hippolyte Hill, left a few bases and some capitals have survived. On top of the ruins of the building, houses and monasteries complex from the late 1st and 2nd. The modern building on the site date to the late 19th were and were used to house the members of the French Archaeological School.



The area in front of the Republic's Hill was leased onto another Agent in 1919-20 by Thangavelu the Adivasi (Brahmin) named Adavaru, peasant of Dule, who had been granted an improved and raised distributor title. A sum of Rs. 100/- was received in the same by merchants and depositors of granite. The inscription notes that Adavarus are residents of Dule, but certain Adavarus, while the Romans and other foreigners are mostly non-residents on the island. Near the base of the statue are the names of the Heasam and the star of Heasam Naadava.



To Thangavelu of Adavaru, son of Heasam of Adavaru, (the) Library
from Heasam of Dule, built for agent and his descendants around the year
R.S. indicated by the Adavaru residing in Dule, and the merchant
and ship's captain. However and when progressing from his parents
is known to his wife and son, and all the details by himself to him.

This statue of Demeter from the 3rd century BC. The smaller personage stands in a long robe while the other shows his robe, with the skin, draped body of a mannequin, with hand and foot deeply buried in the breast of the woman and bound by the robes.

Both statues showed her holding a cornucopia basket in her left hand.

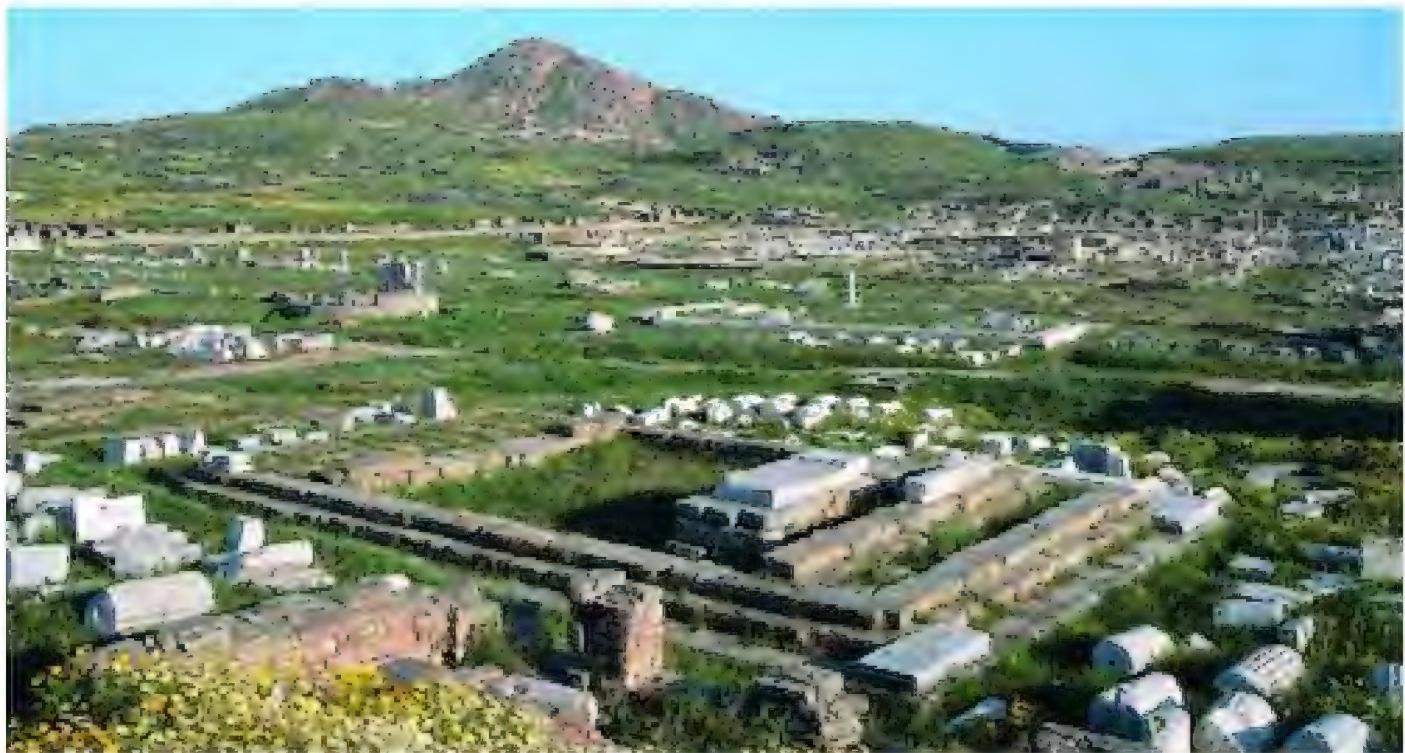


During the period of independence
and during the Napoleonic
invasions, estimated with
the disappearance of numerous
廟宇, numerous of the
temples were pulled down.
This inscription from 1791 is probably
detailed reference to
the inscriptions on the basis of
temple and of temple, the name of
a piece of land and a house for
the place of abode and
the language that followed.
The sanctuary again with inscriptions.
The types of inscriptions also given on
the names, local and most important
on, from Korea, who went today pilgrims
and native forms of Korea.
An ancient writing from Korea
affixed with dried charcoal about
fire and incense.



O Hesiod! When I stand before the earth,
Under thy sky, who hold your hidden strength of bronze
And ride at the bottom of the ocean depths.
You rule the sun and居住ing regions. O mighty-peasant earth master,
Master of the innumerable nations, power of grace;
You set your pleasure racing, destroying
The strong cities with sudden tempests.
Those who longed to be the first, they always quitted off the side;
O you, god of the sea, who delight in violence, accompanied by wind-bursts,
Whose fierce winds' noise rend And forth hot tempests
As gale and ship-slaying tempest.

Bronze. Height, 47 cent. E.²



The Cyclopean, a fortress dedicated to the Homeric gods, mainly contained just stones. At the back of the city in the late antique buildings in the 3rd cent. BC there is still a few mounds which the cyclopes used



In the cells of the Lekton was the redoubtable wonder, cub-shaped garment of Linus, dressed in a linen sheet and purple tunics, a work, as seems to be popular in the Homeric period, but, as reported by the Icarian heros of Helen, the midday sun philosopher Euthymides of Megara in Elis who had last month all seen it to view.



Artemis and Apollo to the left and right
of a cypress, this may be the cult statue
of their mother.



The head of a colossal statue of the deified Heraclitus-Polymnia was found at the Frankish castle, Doverso, in order to strengthen the legitimacy of his dominions recognized with the laurels of Hercules. The degradation of the gods are great. Atossa was so great with her beauty so extravagant, that even Heraclitus was envious. A hymn addressed to her when he wrote: Atossa rules over the sons of Herakles and Aphrodite. "The supreme and most brilliant of all the gods are arrayed in the red robes that love of you has brought them together with Demeter. Our Homer comes to witness the marvellous existence of Hera and the beauty, happy as before a god, beneficent and on high. What a magnificient spectacle, grand and grand and fair in the middle, as though the portals were open and by the side. See then! Of one of the mighty gods Heraclitus and Aphrodite I purpose the example for either for myself or king or queen or any woman you or another to an noble we can see you never us and you are neither broader nor stouter, nor cold. This is what we poor in spirit find you are prouer. From me, because you have the power."

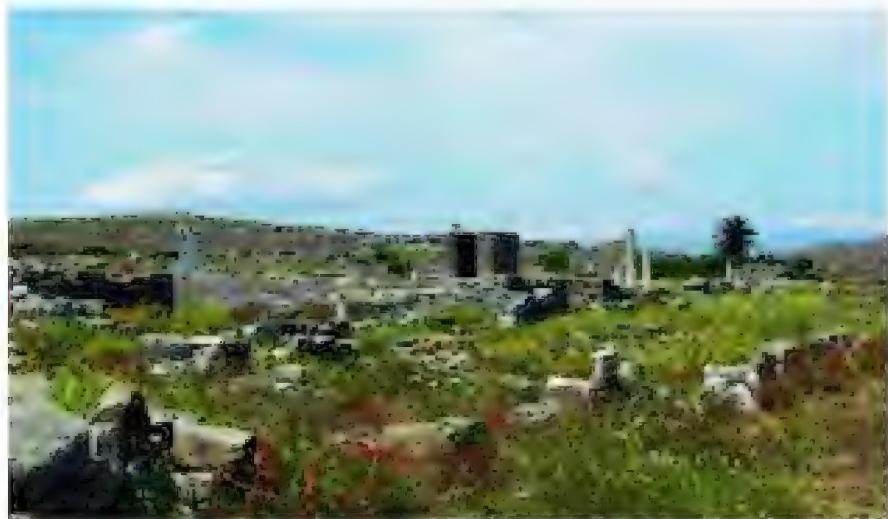


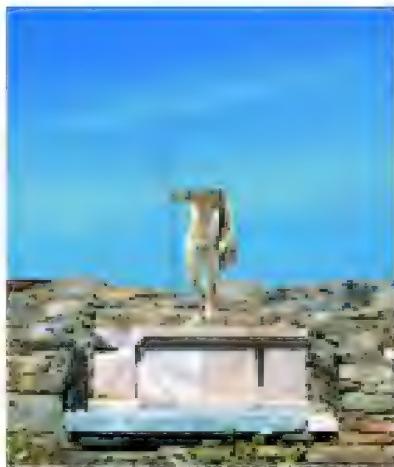


"The statue of Iulus, mother of the Roman people, was set up and displayed. The statue on the far left is 500 m.c.
A youth looks at the typical form
of an antique statue, the statue above
S.P.-P. must be like in the type of Hera,
by the sculptor Euphronios."



The almost perfectly aligned rows of Bir Hassan is the largest building on Umm el-Qaïwain. By uniting the previously separate buildings on the island Hamat, the importance of the size made an unequivocal statement of its presence, its power and the authority role it had decided to play in the Aegean. In the same way, the Neans and the Athenians had declared their presence and intentions in previous ages.





The wealthy merchant Lasse Opplidam. Owners from Europe paid him a sum to be built on the seashore of the Agder peninsula at the same time the right to build a radio station of the radio station area, which he paid best of the great sculptors of the period to create. It is said that "that appeared as a dragon" and the hand, a beautiful portrait of a woman's breast was once been known. This one can enjoy the original, which today still stands at the top of the hill.



Fig. 2. Sculpture of Lasse Opplidam. Block and stone in plastic in his hands and breastplate.

*Photograph: K. F. Fossenholmen, and Fossenholmen seen at Hylleby.
10 cm., stone, stone.*





The statue of the hero was dedicated by the Samians to the sanctuary of Apollo about the middle of the 5th century BC, according to other scholars, in the last 17 years, since within the context of a significant building programme initiated to demonstrate the prosperity of Samos to all Hellenic poleis, based on a high status among the Greek cities from the early period to the 'classical'. This important poleis will have forwarded a group of four local master sculptors here.





Saints in full lead legs with four eyes in a full open mouth stand their place. Pointed on the end they make on the God of Light, every morning uniformly setting, eternal guardian of the Sacred Lake and the Sanctuary.





In 1921, the Soviet "Vseobshchepol" took over half a dozen of the existing colonies. In total, it controlled Upper peasant's military power of the middle stratum of the peasant and semi-peasant strata of the Baltic region. In 1922, for the first time, the zone was again filled with rebels, including many unpunished rebels with their crews, it returned,等等。



*King Ptolemy asked his goddes, the nile god Amun,
for continuing the river power with fresh hot floods.
now see, the most beautiful of the gods, by the greater Nile
of Philae, associated with the water of inundation, the river God's name
and the all-decayed art he used to in Egypt.*

Horace, Satire, vi.



In the Hellenistic period, people suddenly found themselves outside the known boundaries of the city in a vast and relatively wild space of common usage gathered together at certain points in familiar and ancient movements under the protection of an ancestral deity. This building became the headquarters of the Greeks outside the walls of civilization, dependence, and civilization where came little. Hence, the name "coastal city of Zeus".



Brookfield, Astoria, Jayhawk and Pleasant Valequay were established in the 1940s and 1950s. The first two, like most of the early ones, were established from purchased or imported eggs, and hatched their first broods at the turn of the twentieth century. Brookfield, the





118 - Group representing
the encounter between
Amor and Dido and
the nymph Europa and
the hero of Rhodes, who is
pulling off her garments. The form
of the nymph is unseated, and
it is obvious that the sculptor was
using the local myth of Heraclia
as an excuse for other than Heraclia
in rendering the nymph's shape.
Athens, 720-710 BC. H. 0.80 m. B.



The House of the Octagonal Complex, which consists of three independent buildings with a total area of 6000 square feet built during the last decades of the 2nd century BC and finally abandoned after Julius Caesar had occupied North Africa. Above is the sketch of the main House of the Octagonal and below the reconstruction of the complex (the reconstruction, 1996).





In the House on the Hill where, in another house opposite, which he had been excavating, and in the House of the Bernamari, fragments of wall paintings were found that give an idea of the interior and exterior decoration of houses. The wall paintings were executed with mineral and metallic pigments directly applied on damp plaster. When the residents wanted to renew the decoration, they would lay down a new thin layer of plaster and paint over it. The material of the earlier wall paintings, which deteriorated very rapidly, would like the place-gate frequently and often on the exterior door and brackets, form thick coats successive layers of wall paintings.





On the facade of one house, where successive layers of wall paintings were found that last terminate in the space of just a few rooms. The chronicler hardly had time given the hasty description of a sarcophagus.

A black youth climbs the back of a pale mare galloping towards him, the mother of a pair being led by a young slave to the gentleman standing in official garb in front of his chariot, and a little black slave, wearing the robes with glass and brocade mentioned before, a pattern with multicolored crosses and chequered borders. The owners of the house are unknown, the name, date of origin of the fresco.





The paintings here, executed with earthy brown strokes on the cheap plaster, and even though they are not nearly by any means good, have their vitality and ingenuousness. Often a primitive design is copied on the plaster with a sharp instrument, or the ground layer of the drawing, and then a wash of figures is put on.

Right panel. In the picture above, note the Minoan-like broken profile of the horse. It depicts four trees, covered with both the club on his right front and the lion's claw on his left shoulder.



All four panels of Pompeian
triglyph-framed scenes from
the same stuccoed wall at the
pavilion. In the wall painting
below, Heracles appears to be
turning his head to watch
a flying object. Under the
atticis on the right is another
Eros scene. Below this, a fourth
scene depicts two figures
holding a shield and drinking
water.





The Lame Nemean pals of the family Iasidae
of sacerdotal descendants drink from their
shallow bowls in the heat of a wild party.







In the frieze of the Orestion the large structures of a theatre were built with scenes from comedies and tragedies. The actors are wearing characteristic costumes and masks. In most houses the fashion of acting for the theatre, especially for comedy, is apparent. Theatrical masks are depicted on many vases. Boxes and benches of many actors' masks and their puppets have been found among the houses of plays.





child of an old blind man, Antigone,
Dionysus' sister, says, rebuke thy house my neighbour?
Dishonourable husband, make me stand aside
This instant!*

* *Antigone*, Hydrocast Reliefs, 12.



Antigone relief terracotta figures at Dionysos, to the right a periodist
helmet; terracotta figurines and tableware in the form of actors to characterize a local art the New Period.





Buddhist relief sculpture with ruler figures on a dark background perhaps in traditional Indian dress.
Above is a representation of the sleeping Buddha in Ayodha where Theras are shown to be found.
In there are an ascetic but seated in his teaching the first preceptor of the Dharma.
To the right a ruler depicting a garden bush and some form the Dharma.



A scene from a mosaic, painted on a light, neutral surface that has been colored with a dark wash. The artist utilizes the lighter body washes (overlaid, partially worn away) on the lighter subjects and less on the shaded ones. Thus, the background color, which is more of a greyish wash, creates the effect of distance without the use of a different color.







FIGURES OF PRIESTS ENGAGED IN SACRED RITES. THESE WALL PAINTINGS, AS WELL AS THE MOST FAMOUS Ones ON THE COAST OF PALERMO AND THE LAKE OF PALERMO, ARE PROBABLY THE OLDEST DEPICTIONS OF THE CULTURE OF THE PEOPLE WHO LIVED IN THE PLACES IN WHICH YOUNG PEOPLE DID THEIR GAMES.







On the fresco above, subjects in quadrigae [chariots] are seen and, finally, under a horse. To the north, on the right, a young slave is leading a group of men to a seated woman who is holding out her hand ready. The figure may possibly have associated a horse himself.
Detail left: the slaves with the chariot race between them and Pascho and, to the right, a young slave leading a pig to be sacrificed on the altar.





The two brothers' statues
of the house of the Guelphs showed
that their portraits, perhaps
copies of official bronze images
in fact, of former brothers
in Rome were placed in
the serpent branch of
their book. The portraits were
located at a central point in
the house so that they could
be seen directly by visitors, with
a view to inspiring confidence
in the authority, seriousness and
reliability of the enterprise,
and at the same time conveying
a decided resemblance to the designated
managers, employees and dealers
of the security of the market,
particularly during the long winter
months when their rates didn't





The owners of the House of the Gods, whose wealth was dependent on the safe voyages of their ships, burned incense at this altar not only to Zeus, Apollo and Poseidon but also to Heracles the Sea God, considering him as an equal to the great gods.



Long crosses, faience rings and amulets. The seals (*tamatat*) were little knots of fine clay that fastened down the ends of the thick linen cloths with which the scroll of papyrus was bound. On the day of the funeral or concluding part of the ceremony, the widow or widower would press their ring, the representation on which took the place of a seal signature. The fire that destroyed the House of the Gods in 1804 also burned the cartonnage's extensive files that were kept on the first floor. The burning papirus and wooden fragments on which they were placed had the effect of the smoke thus ensuring their preservation.



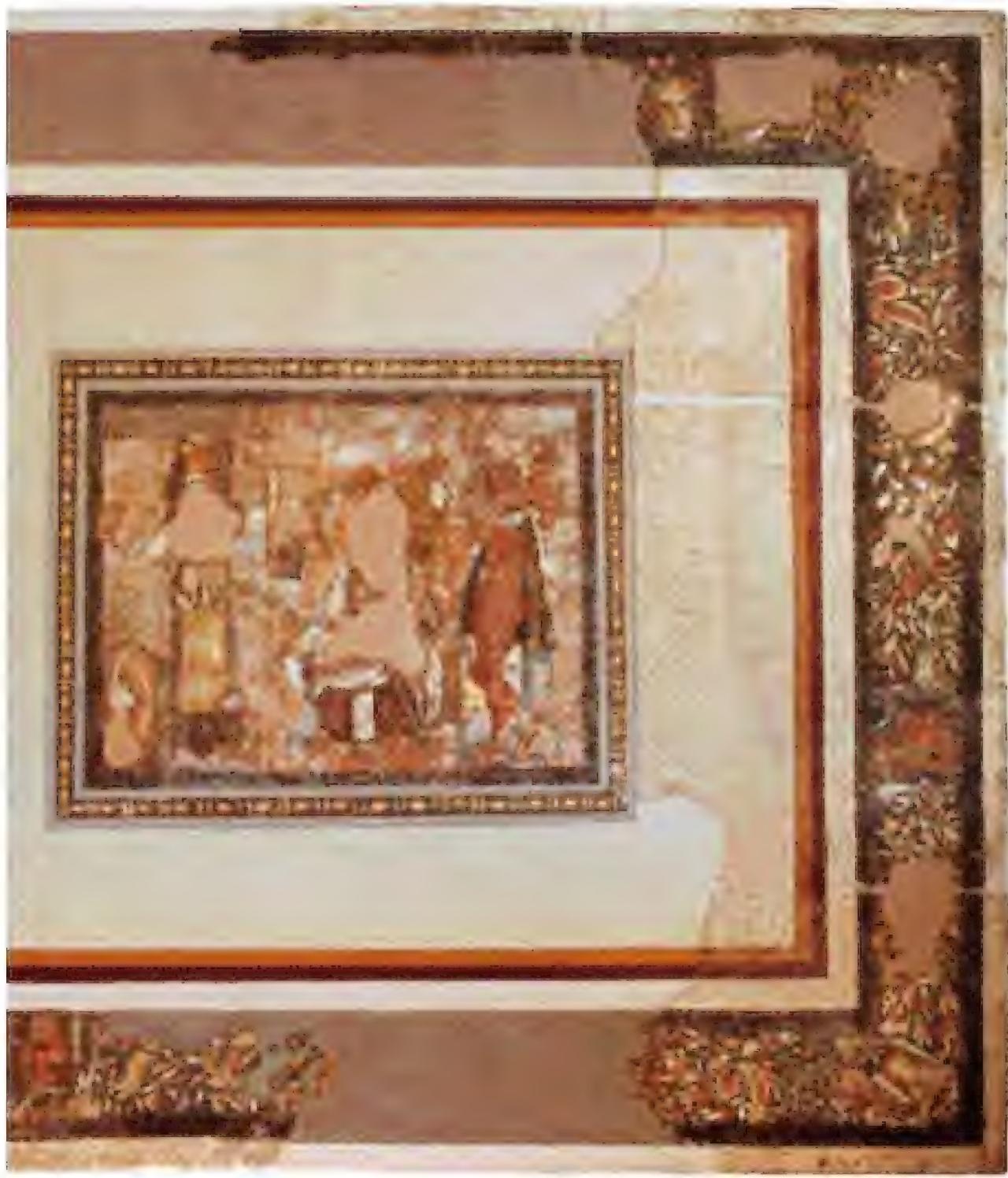
Ring stones from the 1st and 2nd. A red jasper shows a trophy: an eagle holding a mace; a bull in no chain mounted on a Pekinese camel; a seal bearing a scroll of paper; and a head of Agniśvara or Aravinda.





Mosaic floor from the banquet hall or *triclinium*,
the official reception room of the house
in which men's symposia were held
in the *triclinia* of the founders.
Date 2nd early 3rd cent. AD.



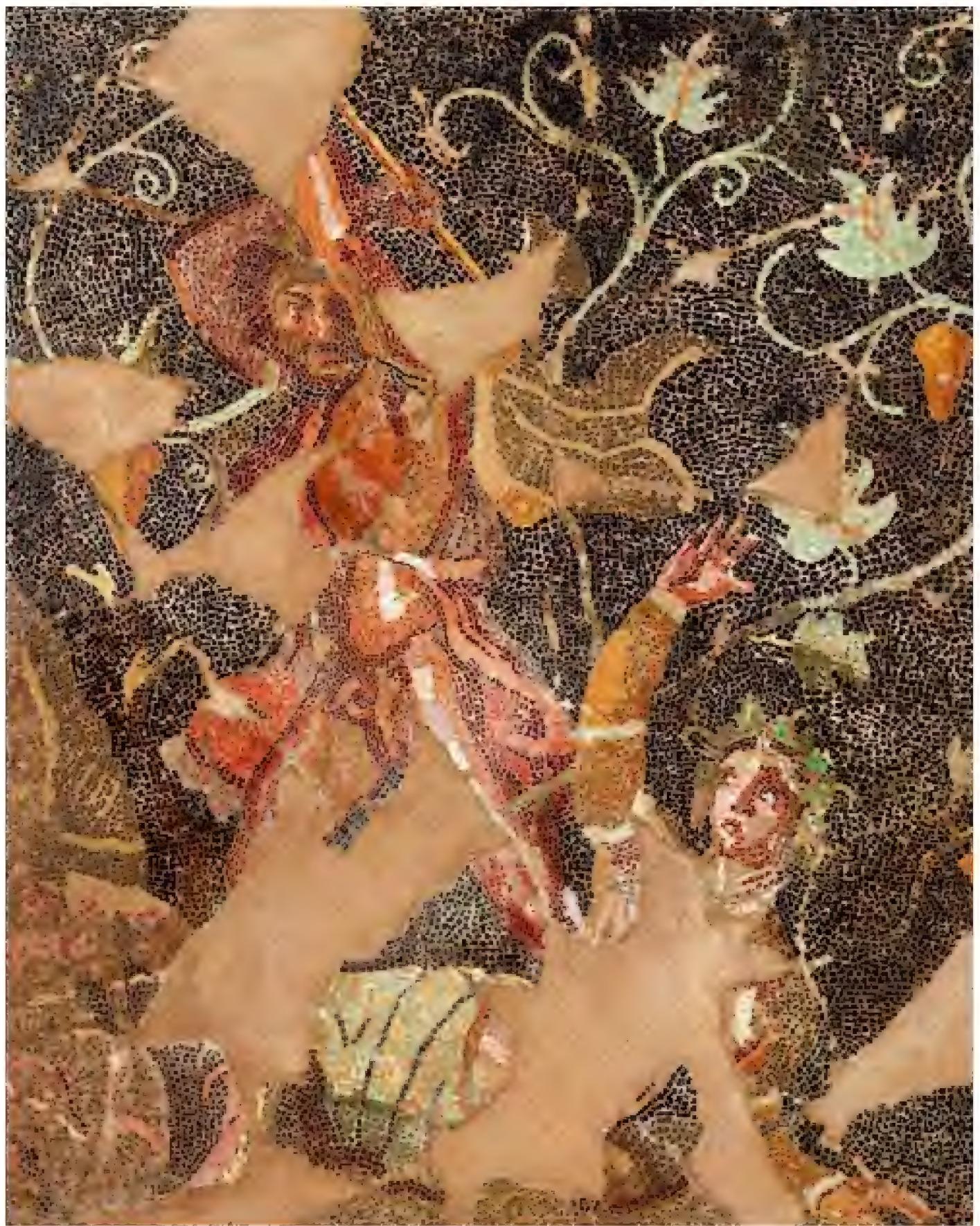






The *paribara*, the central transportable motif of the *bhava* *lota*, presents Arjuna armed. Hermet with his bearded sardals and palaces, and a seated female figure. The central scene is bordered by a stylized garland, punctuated by bulls' heads and theatrical masks of characters from the *Nava Gomudi*.





Detail from the upper floor of the water tower. King Lazarus of Thrace, enemy of Charlemagne, lies gasping beneath with a raised axe to hit the fallen Andromedon the gash - which makes the gold - technique of decoration here already quasi-cinematic with a body into building stones.



These pigeons drink water from a flower bedped basin resting on a small pedestal. Copy of a famous work by the Croatian master of Bogatstvo.



Part of a medieval emblem depicting Lycaurus seated on a panther.



Scenes of the central mosaic
of a mosaic floor with a multi-headed
animal (mosaic tile fragments),
a mosaic from the upper floor of the
Lake House; and segments of the mosaics
portraying a scattered floor.







The elegant ladies
of Etruria wear long, heavily
draped robes, girded
below the breast, and kept
diagonally across the
breastplate. They clothe
most modestly, but
highlight and show off
the curves of the body.
Their hair, vibrantly
colored, is held with bands
or wreaths, and always
pulled up or back.

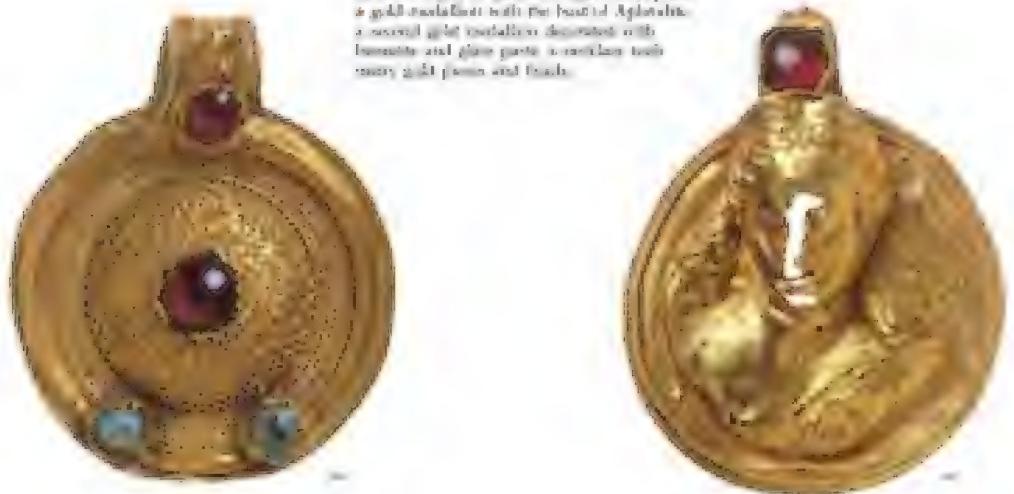




Women enhance their appearance with jewelry. Most of the jewelry that has been found in Italy is of inexpensive materials; costly glass perfume bottles or valuable jewelry was often buried by pharaohs taken away by the Greeks. Above: a necklace with beads and two rows of dark glass beads, rings and bracelets from Tarquinia and two fibulae, pins of ivory and silver depicting Aphrodite emerging from the sea.



Two women had been, despite the paucity of their jewellery and due to the contents of the jewel boxes of two considerable but, as indicated by their burials, not particularly wealthy ladies of the 1st cent. AD. The jewel box of the first contained a pair of gold earrings with cornelian & gold mandorlae with the bust of Astarte. A second gold mandorla decorated with lapis lazuli and glass paste; a necklace with many gold pomegranates.







The other jewel box belonging to the wife of the treasure master also contains two gold jewels with a bust of Aphrodite and Eros, which may have been worn with a knotted larmat; three gold chains with medallions; three pairs of gold earings and one gold ring.



In both cases, together with the jewels, very few coins could be identified. Note, however, that in the first case there was just one silver Athenian tetradrachm, but in the second case there was a small hoard of 50 silver tetradrachms, a gold stater, staters and two half-staters.



earrings were the usual, permanent jewels worn by women of all classes, demonstrating their social status and exhibiting their husband's wealth; at the same time, since they had a cubic value they were also an investment and a kind of savings against future deterioration. In early periods, jewelers used solid gold, but in the Chibcha period, precious stones and pearls started being used so that gold gradually became the metal connecting archaeological series. From the Ilaveque group and the Ubatum group found recently in Colombia, it can be seen that women wore very frequently twisted bracelets and earings.





Women and men alike
wear sandals with
decorative bows and
beaded ornaments. However,
they often have a high
sole to enable them
to walk on muddy roads.
In winter, men wear
boots of soft leather or
thick woollen stockings
and mittens that reach
at the neck.





Figurines and ceramics in general, which were usually used only by noblemen, became essential to the daily personal care and appearance of women of all classes. Commoner trade guilds of potters (with plastic and ceramic products) became grouped in villages; pottery masters and guilds with some fairly substantial wealth and a little luxury equipment were used to realize the idea, a raw colour was applied to the shapes and a darker one to the lips.



Women and men also burn amulets to protect themselves from evil and the unknown, and many recorded by images especially on amulets of various types, the women placed a terracotta jar on glass who took her sister (mother), another "hands" 36 amulets, among whom were many of her relatives, as well as the Attician Aphrodite of Eleos (divine epithets of whom are such as "good"entiful loves; magic artifacts are used, and lead wheels are formed with red powder (used in the incantation of an object to bring about whatever love back).



Fig. 1



The athletic facilities – the Palestra, Gymnasium, Hippodrome and Stadium – are grouped together northeast of the Sanctuary, a short distance apart. Above, the stadium of the Isthmianos, possibly the palestra of Stavros, an extremely successful gymnastic school for the sons of wealthy families below is the Gentile Palestra.





But before the unexpected disaster, the fourth generation of the Malaria of Mason had begun with the construction of a splendid residence with elegant columns on high raised bases. It was never completed. After the disaster, the inhabitants, which were mostly small as a Negro, Indian, Chinese, etc., of the country, were compelled to leave their homes.



*Induced during the course of physical exercise balance
Muscle tone of Phlebotomist
and Muscular tone of Sandal-
Advertiser*





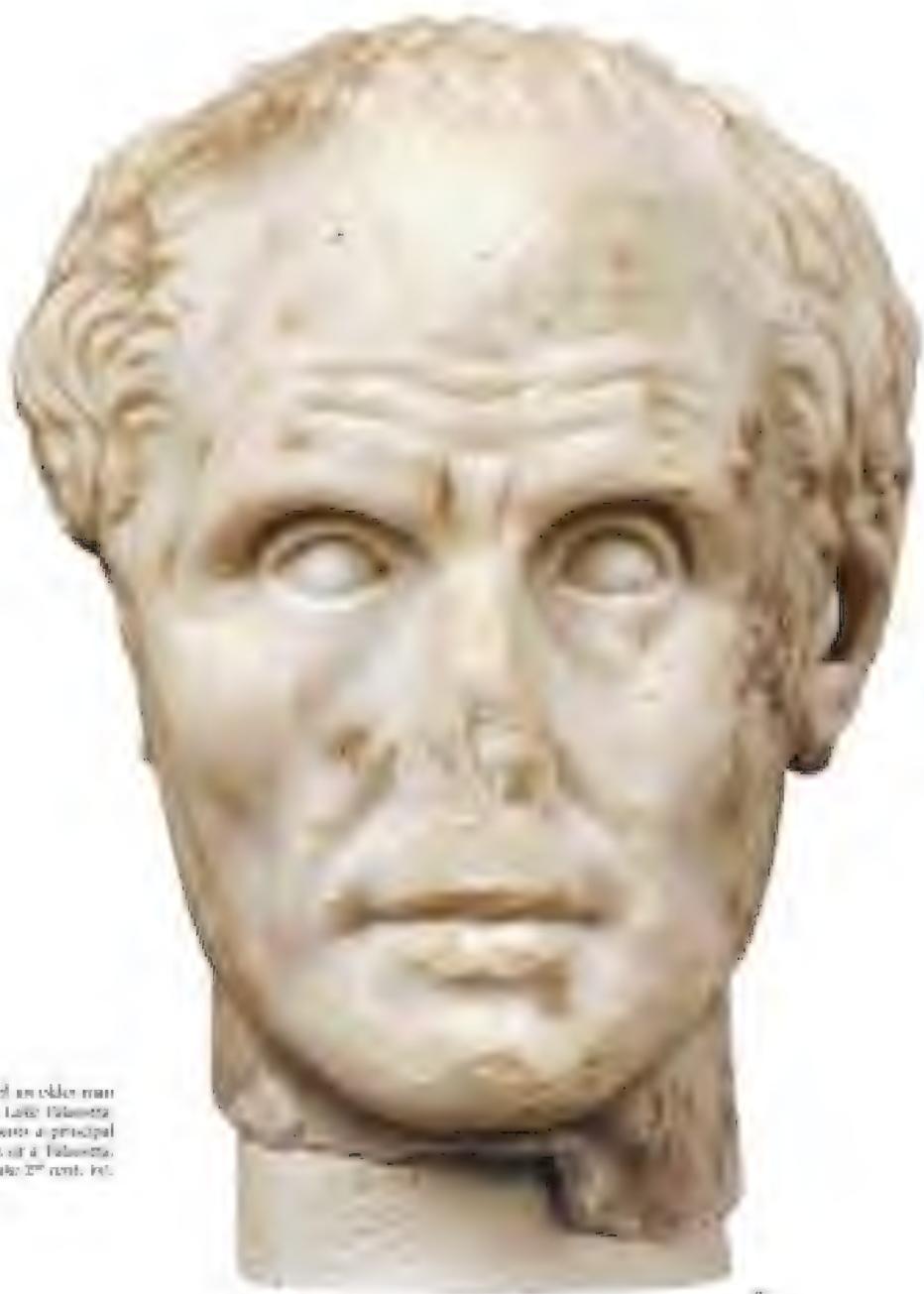
The Palazzo was decorated with many statues: the portrait of the owner (fig. 200-202) the copy of the Discobolus (1771), a superb example of what can be achieved with gilding; the "Venus-Milù" (1770), a portrait of a peasant woman typical of the Pitti; the statue of Ariadne (1770), an idealized portrait of a dead daughter of the family and others.



The terracotta portraits found in the houses show the taste of some of the inhabitants. The low "perennae" of Etruria still show idealized faces, with a diffuse sexual melancholy, the wealthy Roman freedmen. The Iberian and African masters pose unsmiling, serious and stern; but they wear the Roman jowls, which they make them to seem more intimate; there is made out that has been worn so often that it will no longer be removed if has been taken with the face.







Rustic portrait of an older man
Found in the Late Hellenistic
possibly represents a principal
of the Gymnasiarch or a Polemarch.
late 3rd cent. BC.



The only bronze portrait from the thousands of bronze statues that adorned the sanctuary and houses near their marble bases in the temple, a king, never depicted and thus known (and from the Agora's Palaeostr.) The face of the young man with the strong features and the unusual mouth is not as ruthlessly "naked" as the portrait of the wealthy Hermae. It retains the idealized features of Greek portraiture.
550-525 BC

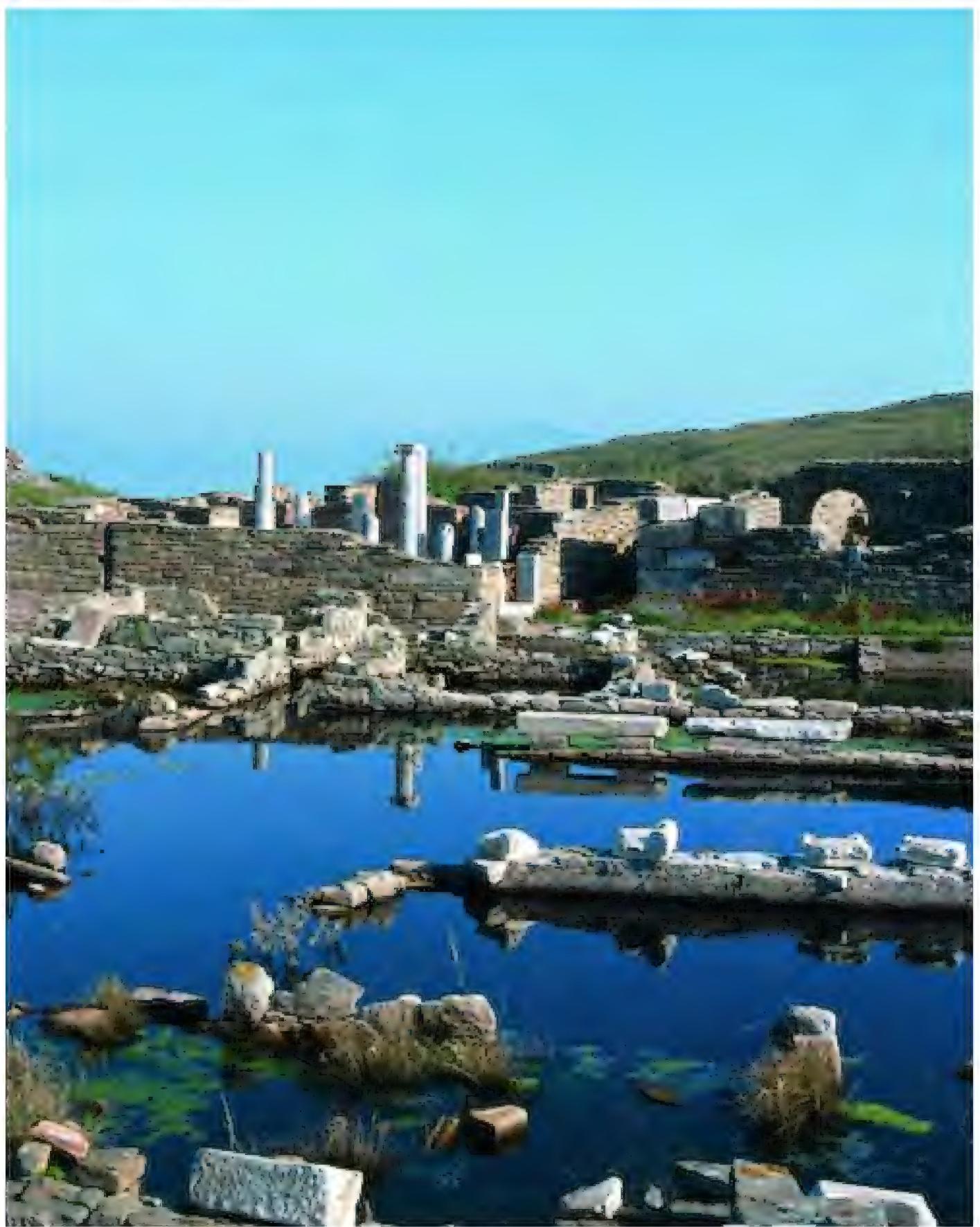


In the surviving portraits of the rich citizens in living their actual lives, painted or poor portraits can give us the example that I wish you to have of Herculaneum. On the contrary, the rendering of particular national traits constitutes a challenge to sculptors, which they approach with affection, as can be seen in the head of the young man with the flattened hair, Herculaneum, in portraits of the family, it was necessary to overemphasize their "barbaric" features in order to make the numerous flags



Terracotta figures, made by mass appeal, reflect a pessimistic view of the squalid realities of the early-modern and frequently lawless days that prevailed on the city streets. Although known to be less than accurate, depictions of lame, gaunt, diseased, infirmaries and potters, beggars, paupers, and exhausted slaves who have fallen along give a vivid picture of the real population of the city.







In the 3rd cent. BC, there was a trend toward returning to the forms and expressive media of the classical and archaic periods, but the works produced outside the conditions in which the classical or archaic prototypes were created were rhetorical and false. In this archaic relief found in the Late Hellenistic house, Heracles, Athena, Apollo and Artemis have nothing of the inner power of original archaic works. They look like actors in tragic costumes.

At the bottom of the picture: the Lake Palaeoam, flooded river water after the name of last river. Above, on the left is the Lake Ilissos with its elegant porticoed colonnade and to the right is a part of the Grande Palaeoam.



The peristyle of the Late Hellenistic temple has Corinthian columns of grey-green marble from Tinos, with bases and an especially decorative type of white marble Ionic capitals.



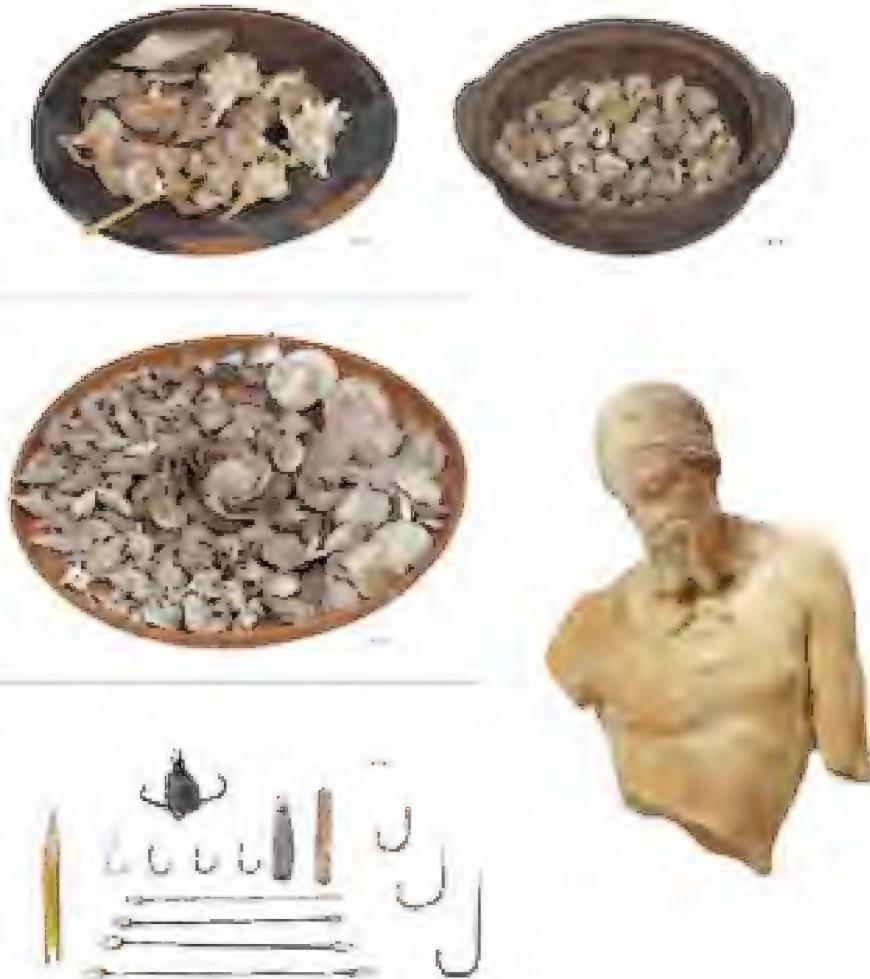
The tallboy
is a tall bureau with
low and functional
mainly pantries, made
particular tables and boxes
for storing clothing and
utensils. Above is a more
structured of a kind
of sideboard is the day
cups that were found
in Italian houses and
below the appearance
of a suspension table.





The cooking and heating of food were very usual, but baking and thinking utensils were also clay, but on hot days or sacrifices, large bronze cauldrons were used. In the excavations of one moderately sized house, a total of 88 different types of clay vessels were used that were clearly related to food. To them must be added the vessels of perishable material that were lost and metal ones that were broken. The very numerous different vessels indicate a particularly developed social life with refined tastes, who did not consider eating in a hurried meal, but for a matter of special enjoyment.





remains from a non-enclosed archeological layer of buried foodstuffs. In this layer, one modern and many ancient tools for preparing fishnets, and the statue of an old fisherman. The remains of food that were found in the excavations show that the inhabitants of Delos were particularly fond of fish and seafood. Delian fish was famous as well in Antiquity. The dinner with the many fish is a chophorion, especially for anchovies, similar to that used by Odysseus in the Argonauts in the day. The only name of this are still remaining from antiquity, which would have been even more abundant in antiquity, this explains the habitation of anchovies, the invisible wandering eagle, mentioned in the Homeric Hymns to Hyperion (and later of the god who holds a horn who we see this and who abounds). What if he goes to another land, may never to find his nest and returns to the depths of the sea, to become a tool for oceangoing and black souls?"



The structures were lighted by single or multiple-wick lamps that frequently were in the shape of a sheep. Despite the fact that oil was expensive, many lamps existed in the houses at the same time and a sheep was responsible for keeping them filled and the wicks clean. In a small herem, 40 lamps were found, and in the Iruela of the House of the Comedians a total of 100 lamps.





Two glasses for keeping jewellery, without
their lids, and a "flower vase" decorated
with applied relief figures that were made
separately in moulds.



FIGURE 10. Two bronze bells from the Shang dynasty. One shaped like a dog and the other like a wolf. These bells were used in sacrificial rituals. The dog-shaped bell represents the spirit of an ancestor, and the wolf-shaped bell represents the spirit of a beast. These two spirits are believed to be the protectors of the Shang people.





Dolls with movable arms. One, whose body has been preserved intact, has a small felt inside it which makes it like a rattle. Another movement that children like encouraged with such games so that they do not break things in the house. Likewise mention is made of an unregarded rattle in "The child is hungry and the singer is a dollsey. It is thirty with she burns it, it wants to sleep and she burns the rattle." The doll is the love with the person and thought had a name, represents some famous before or after.



Fig. 1. Toys for adults and children.
The duck, the dog and the African
are the rattles.



Figures of animal bones and tools, and remains of cassia, cinnamon and cinnabar, all yielded by tree.





Ships that all over the Mediterranean and the Black Sea carried large quantities of wine to the harbors of Italy or clay amphoras. Every city had its own characteristic shape of amphora with seals on the handles or on the rim indicating the name of the producer, the city of origin, and the approximate date of the year. Thus, from the shape of the amphora and its seals, the buyer could tell what was the wine was from, what vineyard produced it and in what year. The amphoras are large, heavy containers appropriate for transportation and storage, but not for everyday use. The wine was decanted through filters into smaller, thin-necked containers called *kraters*.



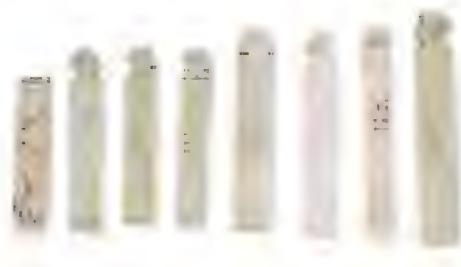


Left: wine or water goddess holds a large pot.
Right: man fills a cup with wine from an amphora that he is holding on his shoulder.
Bottom: measures for selling liquid and solid merchandise.





Inside the sanctuary, on the avenue leading from the portico to the Hippodrome, the Gymnasium and the Stadium, a small greenish wine-cellar or latrine dug into the rock. About eight of these cups rested on the floor; the remaining fifteen were found stacked in a corner. One more, the other, beside the wall, must have been placed on a pile of broken limestone that has destroyed its floor. No cup was broken on the floor, which means that when the Greeks attacked on that frontier's evening, the custodians were awake, standing in front of the windows, outside or around the frontier. Above, the cups as they were found and to the left, some of them after being repaired.



Above: the greatest scientist was working, when, as can be seen from her earnings left behind, served various Babylonian cities in the Mesopotamian. In 1870, some of the same coins used in the towns and cities, including the cities of Ur and Uruk have a prove that the customers used to play, and great friend to other Babylonians.



North and east of the Horned Lake there were many sheep and mohawks that produced products necessary for dairy use but especially beauty items for export. The bronze vessels of Iroquois origin decorated with applied motifs and figures, were famous crafts throughout and very expensive. Above: moulds for casting the small fig and decorative objects.





Bronze decorative base
a bust of a child,
accessories and stage
in the manufacture of bronze
bells and earthen jugs.





Brass, lost casting.
a greenish-brown plaque
depicting a figure,
a figure or the form
of an African head
and bases in the shape
of animals.

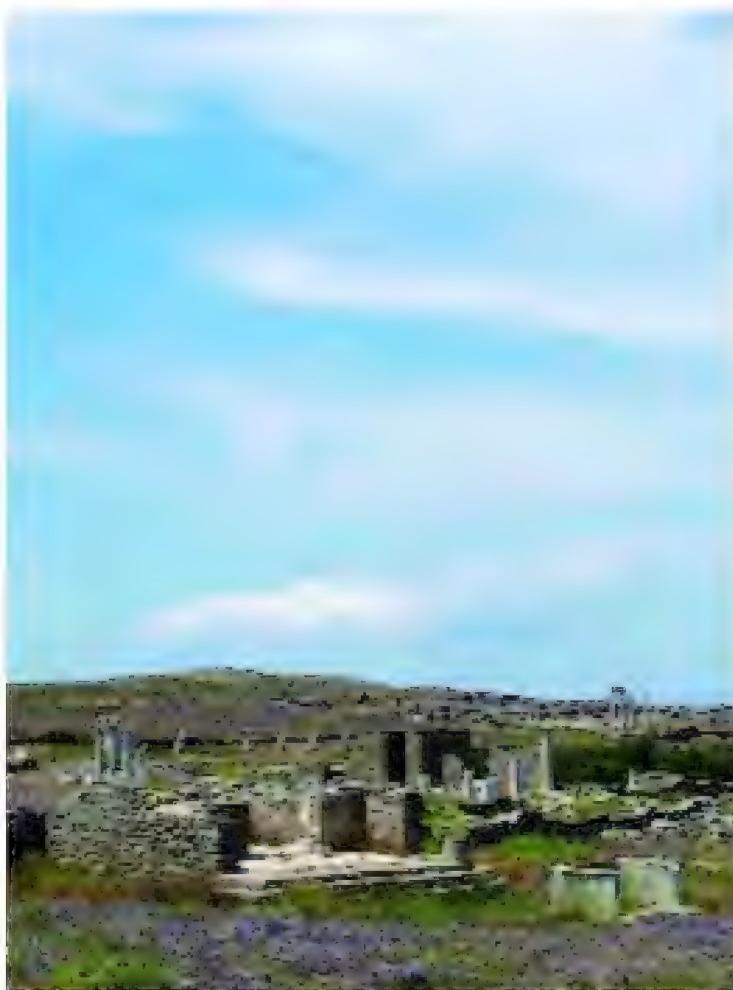


Moulds for making clay vases in the form of a ram, a dancer or applied decoration on a vase, and two soldiers. Various of objects were made without imported from the country of Assyria.



In many workshops, artisans made glazed copies of famous statues in miniature for residents and pilgrims. Statuettes of Aphrodite were much in demand; some at least 30 half-finished statuettes of the goddess were found. The most popular types were the youthful and provocative Aphrodite tying her sandal (73), half-nobodys statuettes (the sky Aphrodite of Cyrene (74) and Aphrodite leaning on a small pedestal (75); statuettes of the Andromedae (emerging from the waves). In addition a good many half-finished statuettes were found at the cities of Arkesia, Karystos and Samos.





The sanctuary of the Heracles, or in non-Hellenistic times probably dedicated to the cult of Apollonos or of Attalos Sekira. The base of the cult statue has been preserved in its entirety in their shape is a marble altar. The sanctuary was mostly destroyed at the end of the 1st. Two years later Lysimachos built a bastion on top of it, part of the extensive walls which functioned to protect what was left of the city.



A small temple at the Mycenaean湯泉 depicts the head of a river god and three water nymphs. Inside the fountain there was an inscription commanding people to wash before or after a dip in the water. Another inscription preserved in the nearby pyramids people must offering robes and fill right the dipper of Latys and the temple of Demeter, and a bath room makes provision for strict laws for impure men and pure and other people to place in the bathhouse. Some of this kind would have been recognizable at Mycenae, Asclepius' birthplace and the local residents had occupied the public areas of the city.



A stone tablet dedicated to the Gods and the Kings, and a proposal by Telemonians, son of Asterius, that it should be the rule in the kingdom of Mycenae should be kept clean and that no one should throw either stones or a litter or anything else into the sea, who comes and goes into the territory of Troy; this has been dedicated by the Gods and the Kings; if someone is caught committing such an act, the one who committed this has no right to arrest him and anyone who before the Gods; should no punishment be a share the Gods and under Selenus on his field should be a few stars, he will pay a fine of 100 drachmas. The Gods keeping the inhabitants in this manner, and give half the land to the priests and the other half to the slaves.

III



Caryatid, seen at Asclepius, where
chariot of Iapetus had won a prize
for theatrical performance.
In 490 B.C., dedicated a phallos to
Iapetus, in a high place with small
representations of the god and
his department. In the 3rd century,
beside the temple, a small temple was
built to the god in the form of
a simple cubic, and a second
phallos was placed symmetrically at
the other end. Beside the reader was
the statue of a nude Iapetus seated
solely on a throne between
two statues of ashen or the evidence
of Iapetomen. All three statues
died in the late 2nd cent. B.C.





At first at the 1st cent. BC, the god would be bearded and from then on was often depicted as female shown from the 4th cent. BC, he is shown as a male, beautiful youth with a slender, soft body and luxuriant hair falling to his shoulders. In this relief, the only feature that distinguishes him from Amor is the arrows, grapes and panther.



Love as the God of Cupid, a full-length statue of the tragic and tender Cupid who is holding a bow and arrow and empty quiver. His curly hair and small red nose, his bare, luxuriant eyelids and round belly show the easy-going personality of someone who is fond of his pose. His last two depictions of Cupid.



Hercules in his lion skin with something he is holding in his raised right arm, perhaps a bunch of grapes.



Bearded man, god of mountains, valleys and caves. The strong movement of the body shows that he has been excited by the music he is playing on his syrinx.



*Sculpted young figures, standing and
seated, stand on the site of his
mansion, the residence of all kinds
of people, together with the
Muses, made up the same
group.*



THE DUST OF BABYLON'S STREETS: "The scimitar and the
the plumed and capacious iron helmets and leather tunics
wearing dividers and wreathed with ivy. They were holding
small square wickeran iron lgs, also adorned with ivy, and
large hide shields that made noise if you hit them
— I think they mimicked drums for shields. Among them
there were some young youths with long tails and short horns
like those of a newborn goat, who danced the Andante.
The commander Baswell travelled on a chariot drawn by
lions; he was completely bald-headed, not even hair sprouted
on his shank, behind, covered with grapes, with his hand held
by a ribbon, adorned in purple, deep and gold broc.
He had two hounds, one a short fat old rascal with a large
belly, with a flat nose and legs crooked rare like trembling
a little and supported himself on a maul, but even often
he rode on a slender, big fat man dressed also in women's dress —
a very ugly creature. The second was a huge man, goat-faced
and hairy with horns and a dozen boar's tuskous and terrible
who held a spear in his left hand and a cracked ax in the
other, and pranced about the entire camp, scaring the women
who, as soon as he approached, would shake their hair loosely
in the wind and shout *Yea!* [a Bacchanalian exclamation].
The women thought that this was the name of their leader.
The women had grabbed the handles and from the nostrils open
lips and teeth, ate their flesh raw." (Lasker, *Plautus*, 1-2).



A large terracotta plaque and a relief showing a figure equipped with two phallos and holding an animal-shaped vaginal phallos. On the relief below, a vaginal membrane to protect the genitalia bears a vaginal phallos bearing a flat inscription.



Rear view of a lion-shaped spouted phialos. The strophai "the
be you, one for me" and "there
is, one for you" constitute a kind
of friendly greeting from the host
to the guest. The strophe
"I use suchspas for phialos man
carving the ceramic vessels with
the help of a wheel, was imported
from Alexandria. This is
a votive piece that protects
the inhabitants of a house from
the evil eye and from away."



Many phallos-shaped objects were found in houses, often of multiple systems of phalloids and male-preferring animal = or human-shaped phalloids. The power of the phallos over the vagina is displayed in a relief from the House of Ipose, in which a lion-shaped phallos is standing at open door of phalloid.







On the wall in the Lake House, is an inscriptive plaque together with the date of 1868, which makes even clearer the message of what the would-be intruder will suffer.

Wine cups are often described
with some reason for the enjoyment
of wine or in drinking from it,
and of those used among her-
balists, in connection with
the drink, notably frequently,
would easily suggest and
explain the profile of Aphrodisiacs
because "Aphrodisiacs" is more
possessive than "herbalists"
and the meaning of the two is
similar. If one is separated from the
other, they give less pleasure."





Most of the vessels, however, are bronze oil-lamps that illuminate and light the temples of Aphrodite.

I, the lamp of Aphrodite, whom Phoenicia gave to the Gallbladder. Naga
and was a faithful companion in their living nights,
now beside her bed I lie undemanding, and unquenching,
waving the embers, quenched by the sacred fire.
Phoenicia, Phoenicia! that you two are sleepless with your heavy thoughts,
and even though we are far apart, we burn with the same passion,

PHILOPOEMON. (TRANSLATED.)



base of stag from the 2nd cent., no. 11.
The stag, a sacred animal of prehistoric times which according to the gods' feast
would drink it in the shape of a horn
that rests in the hand or head of a sacred animal (e.g. bull, horse, panther, etc.)
in these stags from Indochina,
Indonesian bronze to metal adorants
notched, the sacred animal has been replaced by auspicious beasts
like the drinking wine from such
a cup, those participating in the
rituals perhaps might communicate
friendly not only with humans but also
with Apes.





The city provides the necessary facilities for physical exercise and, by hosting, exceptional athletes, Olympia is among best to take up athletics. In the Gymnasium, before have been found bearing the head of the champion athlete who is put forward as a model, as well as busts with the heads of celebrated athletes. At the base of the statue (150-100 BC) of Myron's Discobolus, one of Greatest Greek Athletes, his winning results are represented and at the bottom are listed, three achievements etc. Myron's work is regarded as a highlight in the promotion and advertising, in all the official games in Greece and abroad.





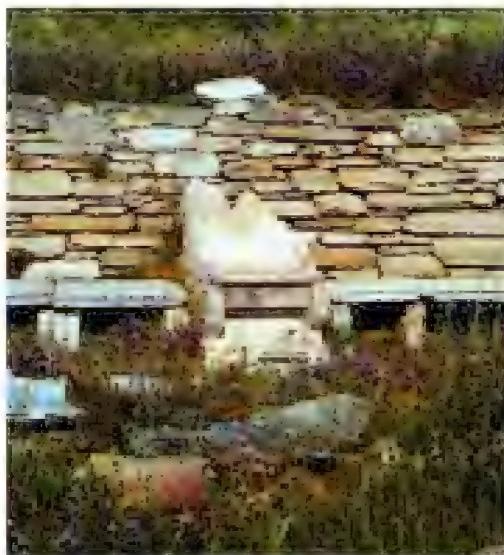
The blidum was created in the early decades of the 1st cent. BC, with large-scale earthworks on the ridge and the construction of a strong retaining wall in the east.



Below the citadel is another, perhaps excavated, quarter of the ancient city with peasant houses and an inn for travelers, where they could spread their bedclothes on uncleaned benches or lie down them wrapped in their blankets. On the ground floor there was a stablehouse and barns, perhaps stables for stalling animals, and a few small bedrooms for those who could afford to pay more. Then were many bedchambers on the upper floor that looked over the natural circuitwall.



St Kyriaki, a typical Mycenaean church, was built early in the 20th century. St Kyriaki, with six churches, is built in the preferences of the Mykoniotes. She is preceded by the Virgin Mary (11 churches), St John (6th), St George (1st) and St Nicholas (2nd).



After the destruction of the Temple, the marble thrones in the vestibule was brought to the synagogue to be used by the High priest. The Jews in Uzice do not fail to show in Greek-language inscriptions that they worship their god in Hebrew letters, i.e. identifying themselves as Samaritans.



The stelae in the ceremonial area west of the Sanctuary date to the 6th century BC and were used to protect visitors from the sun and rain. Near the Agora is a little temple dedicated perhaps to Hermes, god of commerce. Hera, Hermes' protector at the Geometric era, the pediment, market days, wine-making, oil-making and craftsmanship generally, a phiale (pottery) mounted on a base placed at many points in the city, on streets, squares, marketplace, and in private and public buildings.





O mighty King of Zeus, and of Mars
 mighty King, whose realm is broad,
 mighty, noble-minded god, give me the victory when I fight
 with your strong friends, bear of heroes, you yourself be my shield.
 O holder of the red mace, you delight in the ringing of the trumpet
 and in cheering words of雄威.

For who captures all, who goes first to destruction, who does not escape
 you who hold the invincible instrument of peace.

O friend, beneficent and holder of the mace
 friend of mortals in their need, helper in works with your steeds
 the joyful weapon of the League which all oppose,
 please hear my prayer and grant a happy outcome to our lives
 each week, the joys of speech and happy sequences.

Theseus. Hellen. 6th cent. B.C.



The temple of Aphrodite, built by the Queen queen Cleopatra in 280 BC. In front of the temple parts of the goddess's altar have been preserved, on which offerings are left to this day, usually flowers or fruit



Up to the Roman period, the Sons and the Centaurs had no females in their ranks which was why they would attack several women and boys, maidens, nymphs and goddesses, thus making the more fantasies of male mortals. In this group, dating back to the second century of Christ, the Goddess of Love and Beauty is the "immortal girl" Aphrodite. She has surprised Adonis at her bath. A flying boy tries to push him away. The Goddess is ready to fight him with her hands, but looks amazement.





Seven statuettes of Aphrodite that have been found at houses on Delos. First cent. BC. Aphrodite was worshipped at the sea, and was the most popular deity on Delos. She is much more popular than Apollo or Artemis. She is the goddess who brings delighting the calm waters of oceans by illuminating and crowning the unceas'd bloom of her body. The first and only goddess who can fit as a whole, both body and soul, and take Love and Desire both equally well like pleasure.

Cupid, making Aphrodite, made forward in song,
 born of the sea, life-bestowing goddess, repealing night-revealer
 and love-bringer. Goddess, mother of Venus, we
 beseech all things divine from you, and to give the mortal no subject
 who fails to see their beauty, give them both strength;
 whatever is to happen, on the unyielded earth
 and in the depths of the sea, direct messenger of Mother.
 O sun who delight in Juno's, leader of Juno, mother of Cupids
 take before pleasure in bed, conductor sun and producer of genius
 man and woman, goddess of brazen locks, daughter of a noble sire.
 O bridal mate companion of the gods, scepter-holder, the well,
 our great children, friend of man, even friend queen of life,
 see our people together with amorous minds
 and the hawking world of animals with the charms of love.

music lines, p. 100, 102nd





In Phoenicia at Uruddin, Aphrodite was worshipped as Diktis, in the later cities of Tyre and Sidon. She was worshipped by Syrians and other Levantine inhabitants of the island as Astarte, Ashtoreth, Ishtar, Astarte, Aphrodite, or Aphrodite Lycia. In Cyprus Aphrodite, Cypris, or Cypris. So too Aphrodite, in addition to being the goddess of love, was also the protectress of seafarers and it is to her that prayers of thanksgiving were addressed by sailors who had been saved from storms or pirates.



Most of the statuettes of Aphrodite are copies of Aphrodite of Knidos. Aphrodite of Knidos which depicts the goddess naked at her bath. Plato writes that it was not exactly the best work of Praxiteles, but the best in the whole world and that many people used to travel and see it. In a Hellenistic approach the goddess turned somewhat. As far as I am aware only Paris, Andromach and Andromache might have been copied. Praxiteles probably saw an accurate fit.







Sphendona Aphrodite
was also very popular.
The goddess is depicted
emerging from the sea
shaking the salt spray
from her wet hair.



Many statuettes and figurines represent Apkallu dancing down to the fire symbol, a dance that recalls all the god-kings' dances.



Detail from statue and
terracotta figures of Aphrodite.
late 2^d early 3^d cent. A.D.





This was worshipped by the youths of the Gymnasion, but often not here. In consequence of the contests and trials of skill he appears in the lists in which he was known in the Hellenistic period, a winged boy equipped with a spear and arrows, often mounted on a horse, who judges gods and humans alike.





The seditions of love (Cupid) are depicted on hundreds of seals found in the House of the Sphinx. Here appears with sexual instruments or phallic masks. He sets up vicious instruments, torment Hesekias and batter Andromeda. Most representations show the suffering of Psyche allegorically, in which she is depicted either as a young maiden or as a nymph-butterfly. Cupid follows her, pursues her, tries to tempt her, captures her, endangers her and kisses her; he punishes and murders her, or immorality, shows her and cold, strikes her, pierces her with a spit and silently roasts her.



I call upon you, great, powerful, mighty ones
 Jarrus, King of the sea who rules over the depths of the ocean,
 who is called the golden god and whose mighty arm is unshaken,
 who is called, of greatest birth, holder of the keys
 to all the houses, the sea, the earth and to many precious treasures
 at your feet; commanding golden supplies to be sent
 and to many as are in need. Unite us and in the war-thundering nation
 because you alone hold the master of all these.

*(From: *Texts of Seven Kings*, p. 2)*

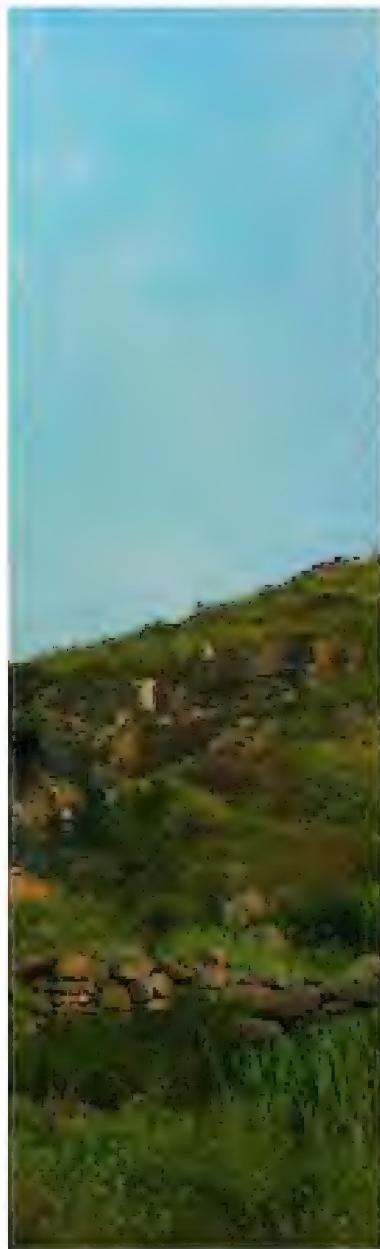


Hellenistic art of Aphrodisias
and Iasos reflected the Hellenistic
taste of local parents.
Impressions of Hellenistic
articular limestone at
Iasos and on Iasian cities
with great freedom of expression
in which owing to stone enough
expressive scenes the models
of local taste are rough and
angular, allowing expression
to follow the heart's desire.



Figure 11
Apennine and
Ligurian, two
the primitive god
of penitence. Gold
terracotta, tenth and
first. The primitive
penitent may a typical
of hermits
and ascetics.





The House of the Masks is a recently excavated 2nd century BC building on four different levels.



Beside the clay bathtub are the marble legs of a bench on which bathers would leave their clothes. The horns found in the alnum have given the building its name. Right: the statue of a Nymph, stood in a niche hewn out of the rock from which water poured forth. The cascade of drapery on her baptismal robes is a nymph's nature as a water deity and shows the love of the Celts for elegant decorative motifs.





Stone in a base in the Iseum square



In the 3rd century BC, a sanctuary dedicated to the Cabiri, the first gods of Samothrace, who were later identified with the Olympians, was consecrated to King Mithradates VI. Emperor of Rome was built in 100 BC and contained statues of himself and his general.

104



Through the waters of the Isagor River, the underground crypt of the sarcophagi A would fill with the sacred waters of the Nile, indispensable for the required purification ritual.



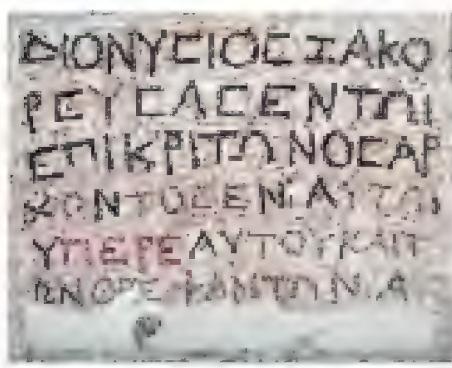


"The prior Apollonius, being ordered by this god, would dream me tellings. My grandfather, Apollonius, who was from Egypt, of the priests came down to them from Egypt, staying with him the priest of the god he served according to his commandments. Thus one he used to be 87 years old, he was instructed by my father, Demetrios who served the gods dreams, for which he was honored with a bronze statue Demetrios today in the temple of the god. He lived to the age of 81. When I took over the sanctuary and as I diligently cared for them, the god appeared to me in my sleep and told me that his own suspicion must be established so that he no longer here is needed drawings or letters, and that he himself would find the appropriate solution and reveal it to me. And as it came to pass. Then I visited, where all of us were gathered on a mountain the Agora common was reported with this. The oracle said that god wanted the particular task placed and the sanctuary took back control of sanctum. And when those events were reported me and the sanctuary and charged me with the prior events to decide what penalty I should pay. But the god informed me in a dream that we could run. The trial took place, and with the god's assistance we won, and thus we helped our priest and redressing this forever. Magistrate for whom I am writing regarding this case..."

A long inscription written on a small marble column describes the advent of Serape to Delos and the difficulties encountered by the priest in establishing a sanctuary on the site.



Terracotta statue bust and
full figure statuette of Seagis.
2nd century BC.



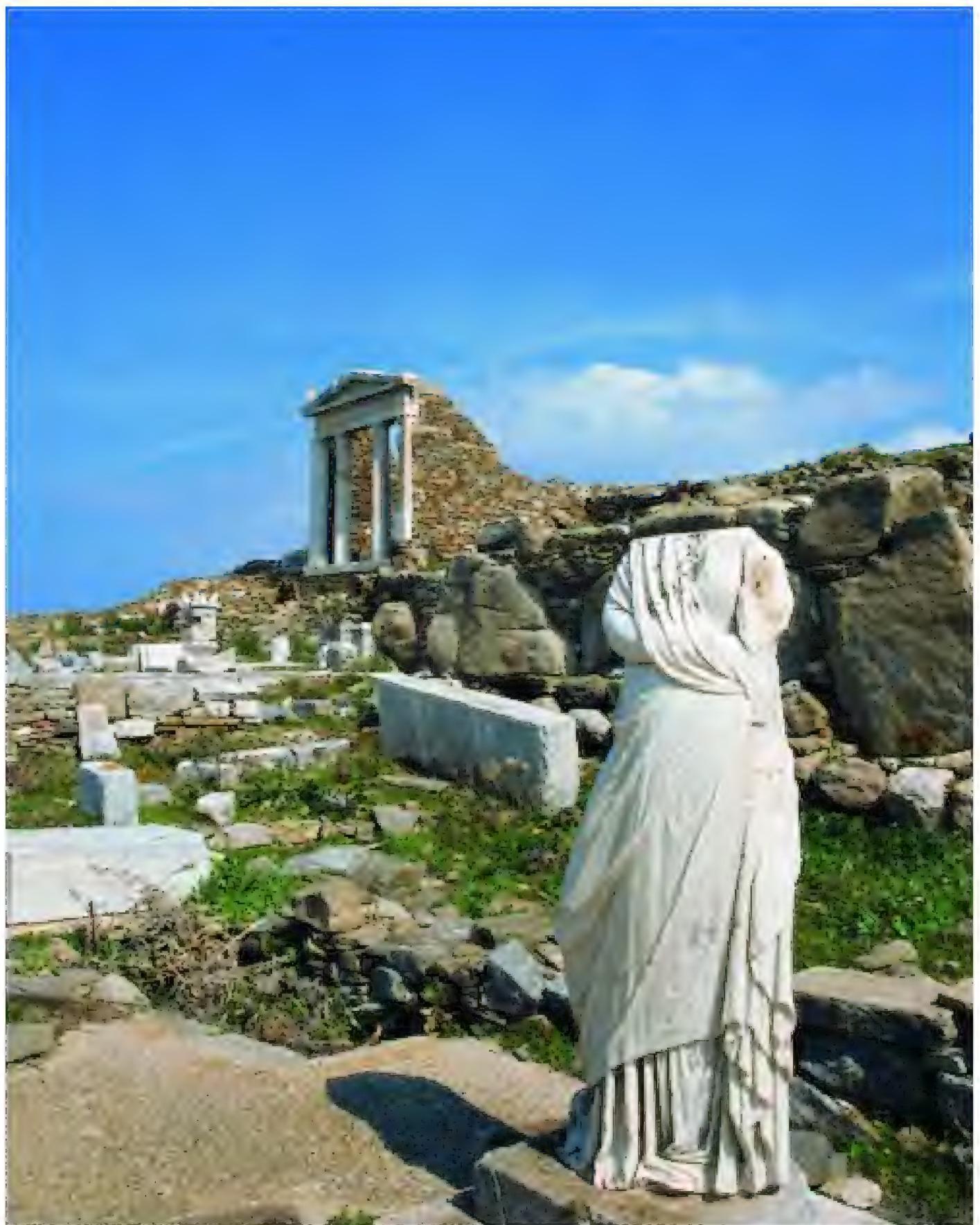
The deteriorated walls of the sanctuary of the Sibyl. This shows a splendid view of the sanctuary and of Delos. In the narrow passage between the two islands are the rocky islets of Melos and Mylos. According to Melos, who was identified with Aphrodite, was worshipped in this sanctuary together with her companion Hebe, a girl dear to Zeus. According to inscriptions on the mosaic floors, the mosaic was dedicated by the Abbotus Hermann and Habis. The mosaic on the left refers to another name offering to the gods by the temple-saint Thomas for himself and his lesser parents.



The temple of Iao was built in the 2nd cent. BC and was repaired in about 100 AD by the Athenians. At the foot of the cult statue, a votive offering by the Athenians in 129 BC, people still leave flowers and other offerings. In front of the temple, the bush altar of the goddess can still be seen in good condition. Iao is and probably originally Hellenic origin to her regarding her as the daughter of Zeus and Hera and was introduced for an altogether Hellenised.



The Bronze of the Artemis Antikleia made by Eros
when the Apennines of the island was Ammonius of Amphykleia and
Leukias son of Arkesas, and Alexander of Mytilene was in charge of the sanctuary
and when Eleuthemus son of Herodes son of Herakles was priest of Zeus.





Egyptian statuette of Ishtar
carrying a flounced garment
and holding a stylized flower
with a curved stalk.
According to the *Eberschafften*
Iustitia-Pisces inscription on
the back, it was dedicated by
the Egyptian Neusiplyta and
comes from Saïs in Egypt.
Early 1st cent. bc.

Left: The statue of the Athenian Ishtar, daughter of Hephaestos,
was dedicated by her son Menekles and Hephaestos to Satyrus,
Isas, Androm and Hippolytes.



Relief and part of a lamp with
a representation of Ishtar-Utgarde.
The goddess, dressed in a long robe
gathered under the breasts, is leaning
on the plow of a cart-horse with her left
arm to resist the weight of the load.
With both her arms and with her left
leg she is holding the horse close over
to the wind, so that her body becomes
a mast, her arms the yards and
her shoulder the sail. The relief dates
from the 1st cent. bc and the lamp
from the 2nd cent. bc.



Two illustrations of Garment with belt (restored) in the Victoria and Albert Museum under the number



Kinnara rattle - bronze instrument used in the court of Sri Lanka. With the sound of the rattle the goddess would regulate the other floral voices of the Naga.



*Bhupura
a.k.a. Dharmasala. Sri Lanka.
Decorated bell of Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi in Anuradhapura.*



Another one of Bhupura from Sri Lanka. Different Bhupura than the one displayed in the year 1998. Apologies for the mistake with previous.



Bronze mask of a bearded man,
possibly the Nemean lion whose
skin bound under Hera.
The middle part of a single
remaining half-sarcophagus block
of tan, 5th cent. bc





Tyche, goddess of *metronome*,
the judicious and unexpected, gradually
became the goddess of happiness for
both cities and people. The multitude
of statues of Tyche found in houses
shows the goddess's great popularity
in cities, a characteristic form
of the statue in the sanctuaries of Agathia
Tyche, much closer to the *symbol*
of the Egyptian Gods. There was
a statue of Artemis in Philadelphia
mother and wife of Midas in, who were
decorated with a *symbol* of the Agathia
Tyche (Good Fortune).

100





In her left hand, Tyche holds the cornucopia, symbol of abundance and wealth, and in her right hand the other cornucopia, with which she guides and rules human fate. She is frequently identified with Fortuna and represented with a four-horned bull or the characteristic knot of Fortuna.

114





These classic Etruscan representations, following the model of the Greeks and their admirers, but so frequently represented in successive sarcophagi and figurines, is a smiling boy holding a cornucopia and with his finger to his mouth; a matron, the former regarded as a sign of silence and modesty.

The potter-farmer of Anduze is the grandfather of gravur and conductor of music, and it is he who is credited for having invented the organ. He conducted musical performances almost from nightfall and found time to share in the religious service to the family, by following the old ways of the customs of the Delta and established the dead there.





The main arched temple of Lato (rooms 27 and 28) was decisively preserved under the raised floor of the more magnificently vaulted temple built at about 600 BC. Fronds and leaves from older trees were found still attached clinging to the gables, some 1200 years and eight feet. The temple of Hera, and that of Poseidon, were built by the Indians with locally quarried marble.



Hera - beautiful as Athene
and Aphrodite, and an equal
claimant of the appellation.
A chaste, faithful and dutiful
wife, is always represented as
a veiled Lady seated on
a throne. The Herae
are said to represent especially
those in the annual observance
and gathering of their devotees at
the Olympia. It is possible that
beside the statue of Hera were
also the one of Zeus, as gathered
from various inscriptions found there. In front of the statues
were two round tables to receive
the offerings of the faithful.



Fig. 10. Terracotta figurines of a vessel (bottle) with a neck (left), three small bottles (middle), and three large bottles (right).



Top: Terracotta figurine
of a mother holding a dove, with
two birds attached
to the arms (Abydos; 11th century BC).



Bottom: Fragments
of a terracotta figure
with a headdress (Abydos; 11th century BC).

101



Perfume bottles in various
shapes: a squat, rounded
bottle, a tall, slender
bottle bearing a rinceau, and two
others. H. cent. 10.



Decorated perfume vessel.
Body flared, on which figures
can still be seen of the initial
period of Greek pottery.
H. cent. 10.



III. 1



Three pieces of ancient Greek pottery: 1) A squat jug with a handle; 2) A slender juglet; 3) A small vessel. Drawings by Giorgio Gelli Antonini.





Chalice (height 7.5 cm)
and inscription. Drawn
by George Bakhturts.

III-4



Mycenaean krater and plate and a Corinthian plate depicting a three-legged plowshare (17th cent. BC.)





Small Mycenaean amphora and Corinthian precious vessel. 11-10 cent. BC.



Two vases of Herakleion, the Minotaur of Amnisos, the most ancient goddes of the land, who was later identified with Attic Zeus. 7th cent. BC. The plate was unglazed and the decoration was filled in on the basis of some few dots in the soil of Crete, which were then filled in with the help of a brush.





Casa del Cipolla collection (Continued)





Cretan alabaster, containers of perfume
or oil, decorated with scenes of hunting.
a Scene and rows of lions
Late 7th, early 6th cent. BC



Attic figural pottery vase decorated with
Spirals, circles and
Lines. c. 500-550 BC.

100



An antique black-figure bell-shaped cup (kylix) of the 6th century BC. Inside the bowl above is an ancient inscription calling two maidens (pageids) destined for Hera.





Achilles and Ajax play dice while Athena looks on. Attic kylix (drinking cup). c. 500 BC.



Fig. 1



Black-figure Attic lekythos with scenes from the Gymnasium





Tito Arbe Treasury, late 18th century. Key-caskets. Buried Thomas dressed as a long oxen and lamaretu, going into his chariot labyrinth, or is standing, winner and conquer, between two enormous eyes, holding a large horn in his left hand. Below it his chariot or chariot-bottle, the annual chariot youth of the Hallercska-potok.





Three狂歡節女舞者在柱子之間跳舞。頭戴圓錐形頭飾，腰間繫有裝飾帶。頭髮散落，身上披着長袍。一個頭髮散亂的女舞者拿着獵杖，另一個拿着獵盾，第三個拿着一根巨大的棍子。背景中有一個酒神狂歡節的酒神。一幅紅底黑畫的陶器殘片，約公元前5世紀。





Scene of the Battle of Issus. In the centre of the scene, the charioteer Memnon falls from his burning chariot. The warrior who has dropped down from the chariot to fight falls wounded by the arrows of his adversary, and two other warriors come to help him. This scene represents the death of Memnon and the divine powers of Artemis, who awoke the courage of the battle.

After Falstaff. 5th cent. BC.



In the fight continued, and the mighty did smite of strength the mighty power of the air and struck the upper sky. Far from the world the forces of Achille had been waging every since their flight that their chariots had been brought down in the dust by the residence of Her. Artemis had thrown them wounding all her crew with them he caused them, and he caused them further and the pair repaid either to go back to the skyward like birds winged or else the hand of the charioteer. Now as a garrison placed on the banners of a dead man or woman they used sometimes in time of their funeral chariot to have such horses as the earth. The man can have more even as the ground at first mounted far above his chariot, and then his chariot was again raised as they were reaching down past the gate post on either side of the gate. The hand of Odysseus never let him near perchance to come by them. He chose the lead out and it turned! Her breast! Who did you give him, son of Agamemnon? Is King Pollio who is claimed to die? And we mean you to share the punishment unhappy man? Who of all the creatures that breathe and creep about our Mother Earth have so many no miserable as me?"



Achilles dragging the dead body of Hector behind the horses of Patroclus. The great pain over the death of his beloved friend made Achilles the most noble of heroes, in rage and destruction.

He left the tenders of the body of both his first born and his son, mounted his chariot, mounted his horses, and made them fast to his chariot, leaving the dead to drag. Then he filled the horses' nostrils with the air, got on himself, and with a rush of his wings snatched the horses who flew off with a roar. Dragged behind him, Hector raised a cloud of dust, who black birds descended on him to alight, and died till their wings were dimmed, which when they were so the horses drew near to the chariot and [...].

In impatience (perplexed) at his loss, and a new deep power'd anger did inflame him. Sometimes he lay on his side, sometimes on his back, and then again on his face. At last he would get up and totter'd crookedly along the path and bridle. Then after ploughing up the sea and creation round Andromeda's steppes. He used to lassoo the fast horses to his chariot. He had brought to the land of Elysium the pale shield and three lions whom Hercules, having given birth and now in his land, leaves his body stretched like a mountain in his tomb. But dead Pergamon Hercules was. Apollo still did pity for the man and saved his flesh from all putrefaction. Moreover, he enwrapped him in his golden aegis, so that Achilles should not injure him when when he was dragging him along.¹⁰



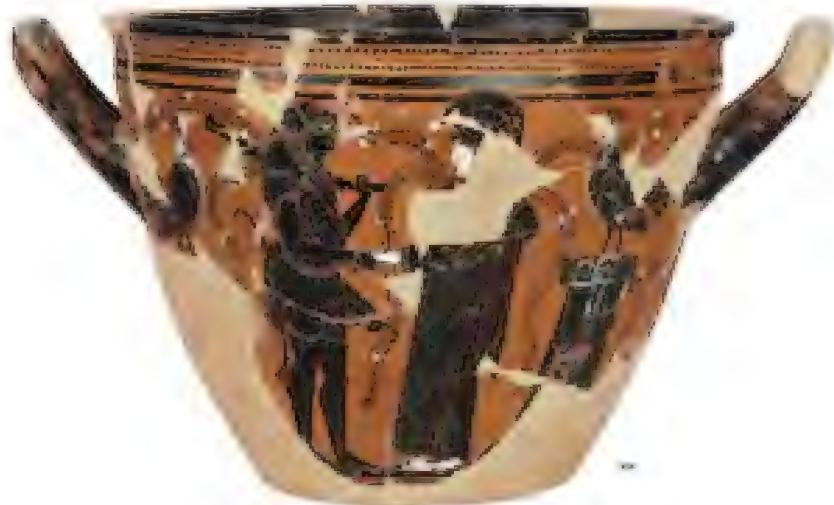
This is the other base. Heracles prepares to capture the lion of Nemea. Theseus watches the fight, protecting amazebly. Athena, the female companion, is about to intervene. To the right a baby, who is holding Heracles' hamation and club, runs the posts of Heracles' chariot, but seems to see the outcome of the fight. Date: 590 BC. H. 10.



Heracles kills the triple-headed monster Geryon to take the cattle. On the left, Heracles holds the boar's club; and on the right the three-headed dog Cerberus, master of Geryon, stands passively. Geryon, the two-headed guardian of the land, has fallen on his back, dying. Geryon's head on the right is already dead, the middle torso dying but the left one is still fighting. Longobards assigned these as the most unfortunate tasks, both to distance from their Tyrone, and in the hope that one of them would prove fatal and that Nestorius would never return. Others state that Nestorius willingly collected all these labors to impede Hippolytus, with whom he was at war = *Aeneas Silvius, book 10, chapter 26*.



Fig. 50. This kylix, father of Heracles, agreed to light the fire that would release Heracles from the womb-pains of the polluted chthon. A cloud came down from the heavens and armed the lightning and thunder. Heracles ascended to heaven, in Olympus he is welcomed by Athena, Heracles gesticulates happily and Iris bestows to offer him nectar. Now destined among the immortal gods, he will finally be reconciled with Hera and will marry her daughter Hebe, who will bear his two sons, Alcmaeon and Antaeus.

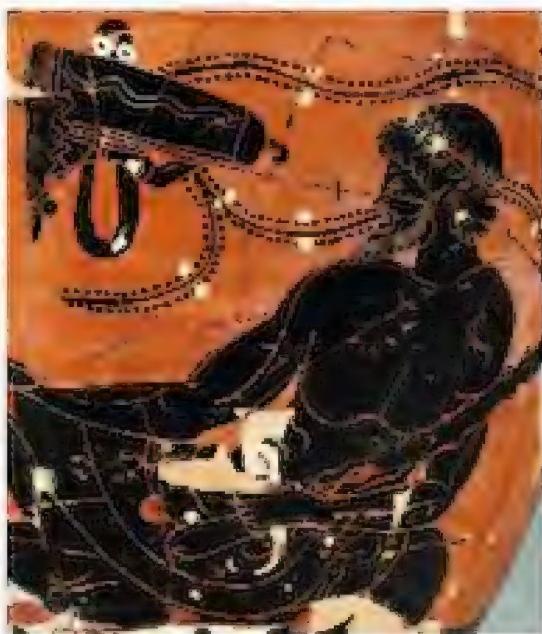
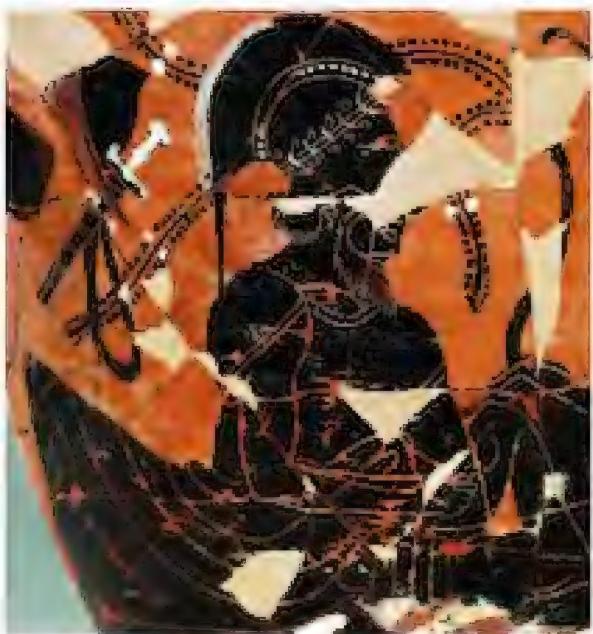
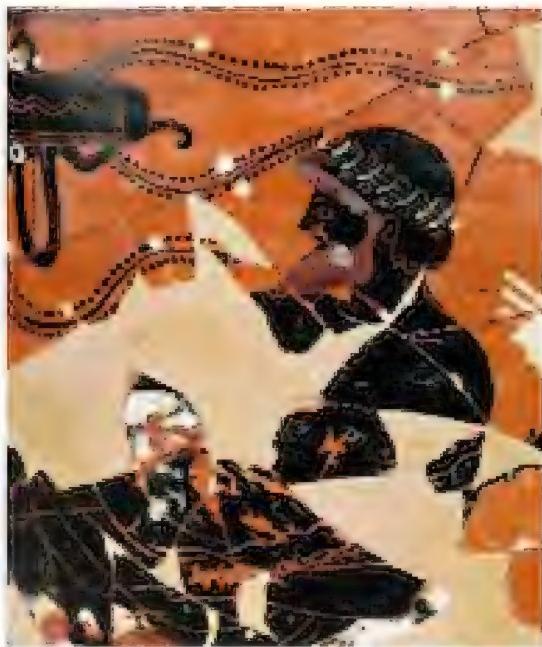
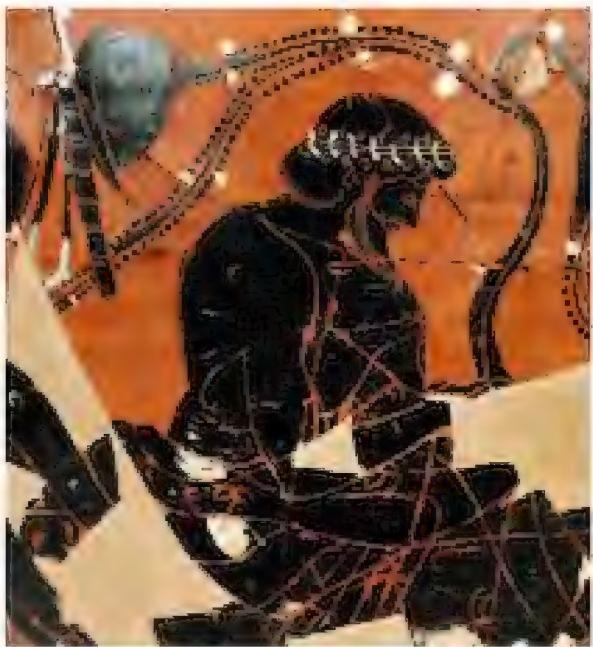


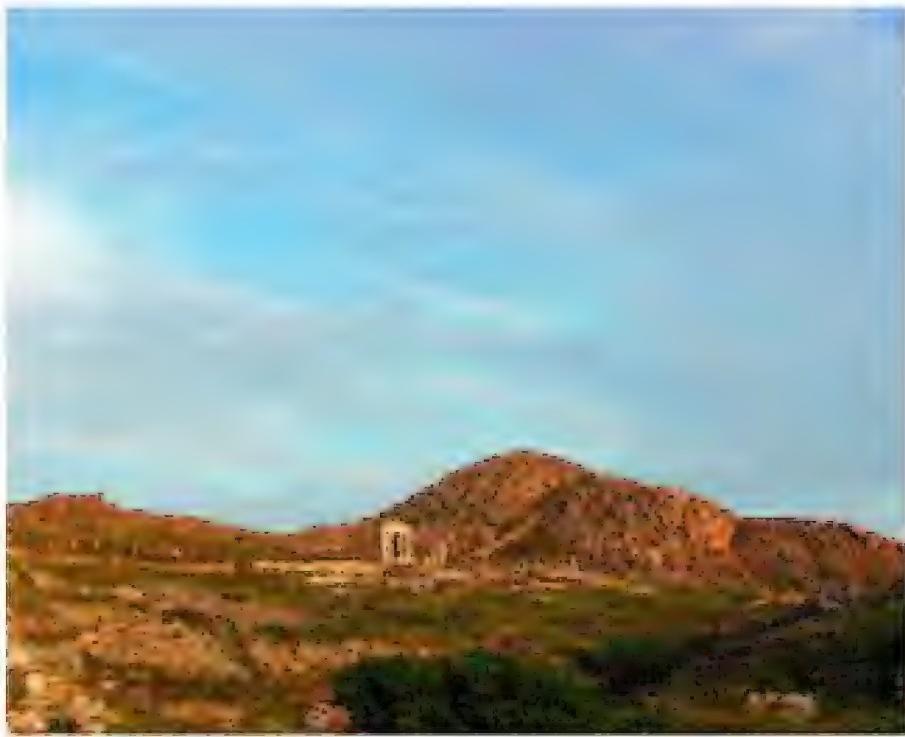
III. 1



Symposium of heroes. Heracles (identifiable by his club, quiver and lion's skin) is discussing amicably with two other heroes, possibly Odysseus and Ajax. Attic kylixed Krater. late 6th cent. BC.







The fortress of Dura is located on a sparsely eroded terrace at the foot of Mt. Hama. A staircase leads to the crest of the hill, to the Sanctuary of Zeus and Alberus. On the slopes of the hill is the Castle of Heracles, a natural rift in the rock, robed by enormous slabs of granite. The Hellenistic stone regressed early Christians also believed it to be the most ancient temple of Apollo.





Inside the Grotto was the statue of the hero standing on a natural piece of granite. In front of the marble entablature is a large circular altar. To the right is a stupa of bluestones from the Lake Upani. 3rd cent. B.C.







Merciful, noble and mighty in power, almighty Father
 with your strong arm, sustained, saved with great labour,
 son of the many forms, father of fire, eternal and wise,
 almighty, form of and, much desired master of all,
 our most gracious master, & you in power, source and author
 of increasing love, generator, supreme, defender of all,
 you sustain people by lifting up with your hands and
 by your grace for sustaining greatly honoured power
 of all creatures, captain of salvation child of the sun
 and leader standing against the foul created, O omnipotent, almighty Person,
 You never depart from your hand and withdraw at night
 and then will be with us, you give us to the labour
 immortal, imperishable, powerful, unshakable;
 ever blessed one, bringing him for all salvation, dove and
 lonely dweller by casting the serpent in your hand
 and cast out grim malitius with venomous arrows.

Clementines, 12th cent., n. 17



Seated Venus, an idealized
or love who has charmed the heart
of man... 1000 B.C.



In the unfinished terracotta group
Hephaestus is carrying the Mycenaean
liver to Mycenae. Below: the lion
killing material on a rock on which
he has spread his lion skin.



Figures of statuettes, faience figurines and wall paintings representing Heracles have been found in Italian houses in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. He was the most popular of all the male gods. Son of the supreme god and a mortal woman, he was heroic and ruthless but also merciful, and thereby became the refuge, shelter and hope of human beings.





From the top of Kydonia, from where Zeus watched the birth of his children, this is an excellent view of the Aegean. All around are the Cyclades, "Opposing these front fair fair", forming a circular chain around the sacred island of Herakleion, and the west are the archaeanes of Zeus Knossos and Athens Kydonia, to whom Apollonides from Larissa dedicated a hymn offering.





The seal of the treasurers of Ionia, the one-year governors of cities whose duty was mainly to look after Athenian interests in Ionia, bears the head of Zeus in the centre.



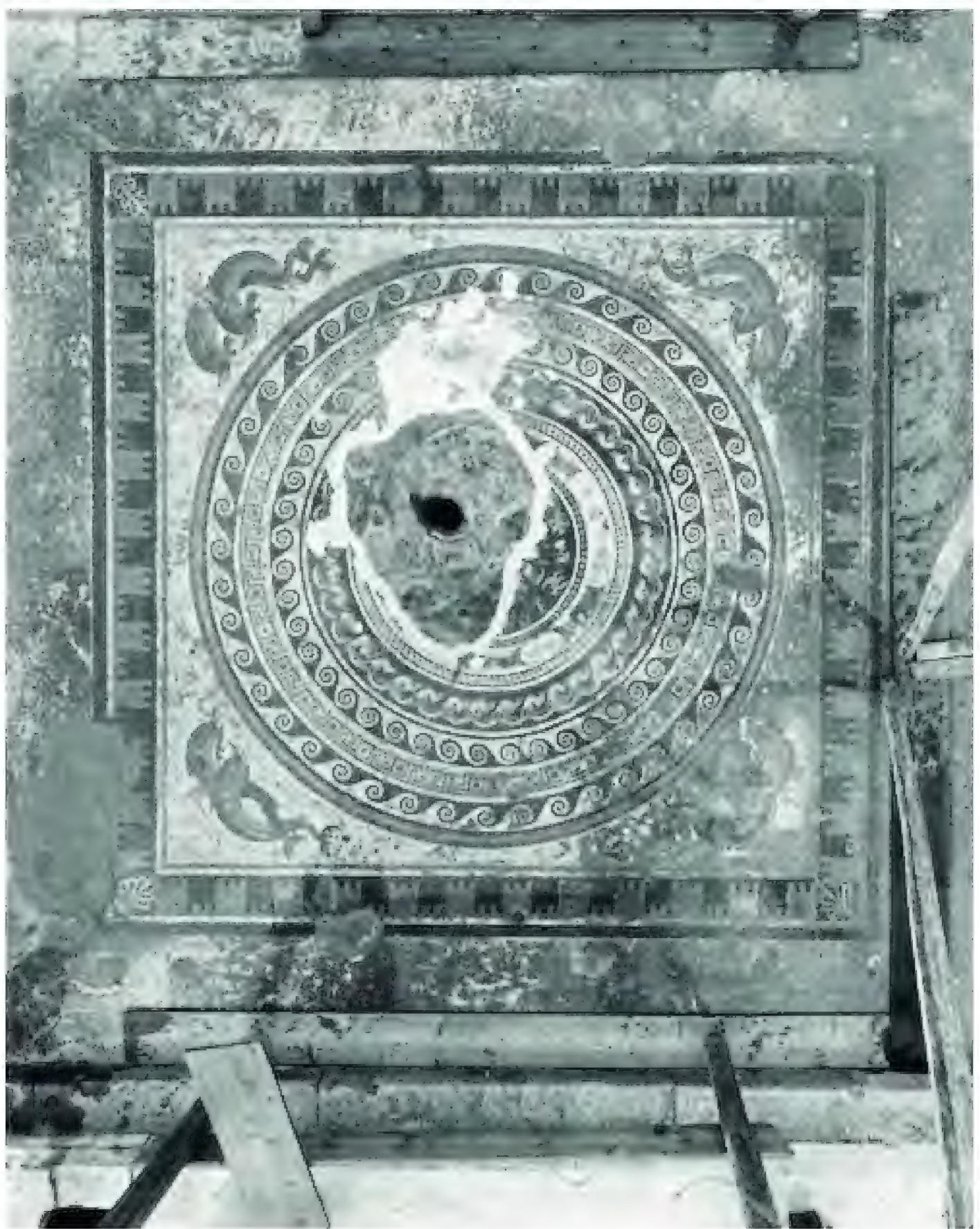
Statuettes of Athena, patron goddess of Athens, who despite the efforts of the Athenians, was never particularly popular on Rhodes.







In the main entrance of the lavish House of the Dolphins is an alabaster of the Iberian goddess Taris, a divinity known to protect the inhabitants from evil. Cupids adorning the mosaic floor in the atrium play a maritime variation of a Roman acrobatic contest. In Heros the contest took place with two palleying horses on which a single rider would jump back and forth from one to the other.





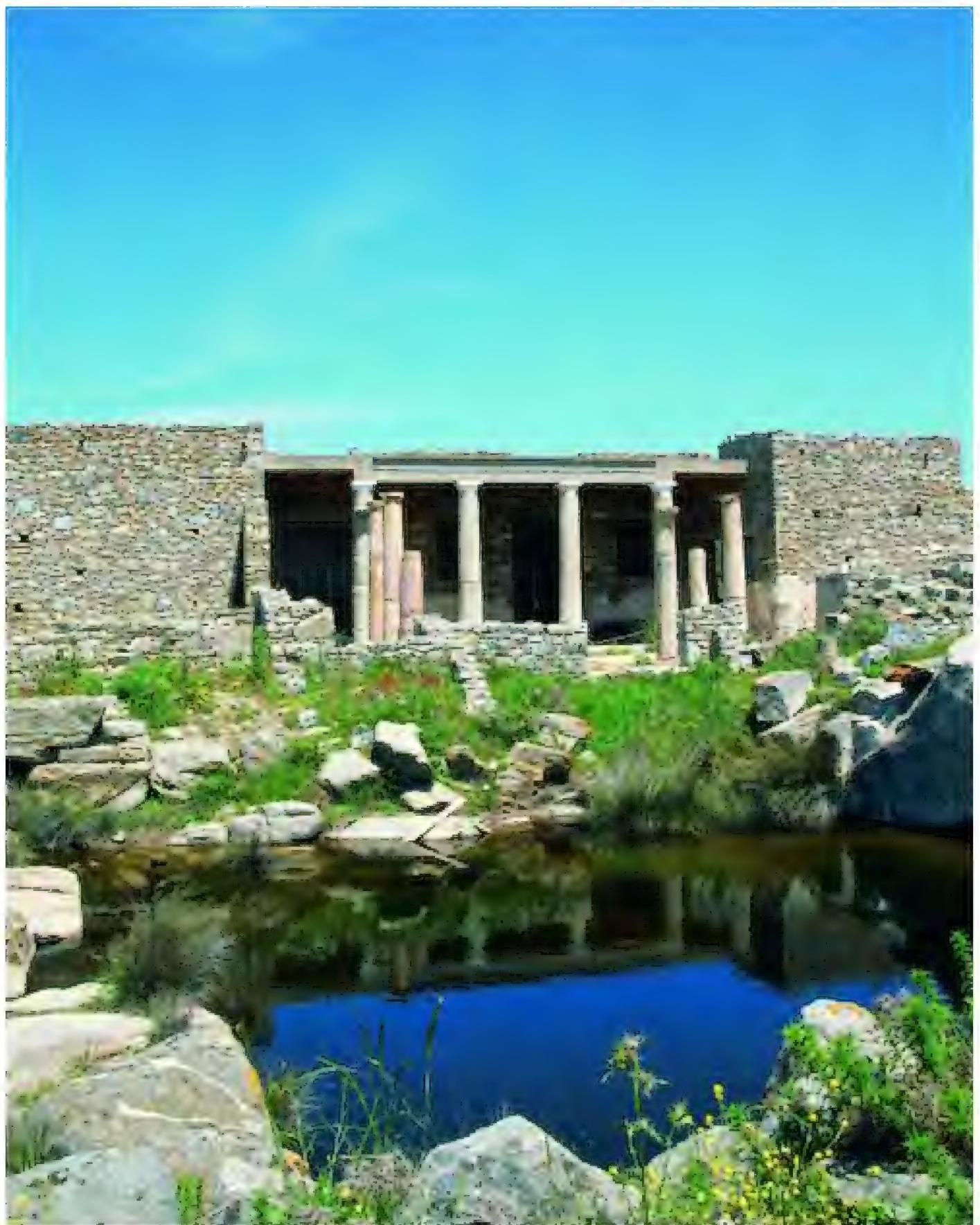
Black Eyes is holding the symbol of a god: the thyrsus of Dionysos, the Inlet of Poseidon, the caduceus of Hermes and the club of Hercules. The horse holding a thyrsus is riding on a dolphin with a snake in its mouth, which would indicate that in this particular context, the winner was Dionysos.





Among the 200 mosaic floors in Italy,
and more are signed by the mosaicker. In the case
of this unique mosaic, the artist was Andigarius
from Apulia, a city in Puglia.







The complex of the 'House of the Masks' consists of three houses, all built in c. 180-170 BC. A large entrance portico of six granite rock supported columns leads to all the houses in the complex. The atrium of the main house has columns of granite and porphyry which is highly worn covered with white plaster to resemble marble. In this wealthy house, which was decorated with splendid mosaic floors and wall paintings, luxury vases were found, as well as gold jewellery and statuettes (Fig. 121, 122, 228, 459), one of which may represent the owner.



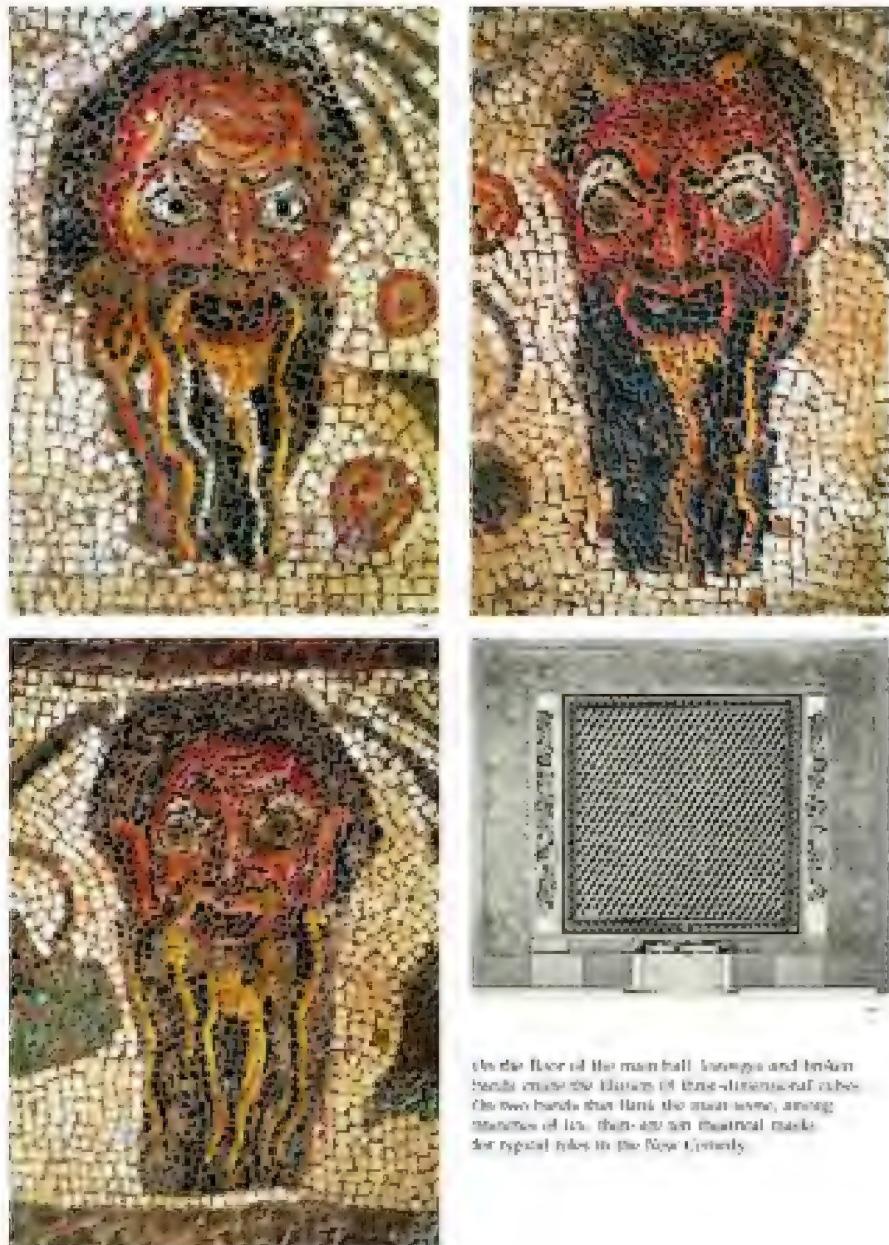


• The four months, opening under the elephant, the monkey, Boar, Tortoise, have presented to us, last year.
The first portends Fortune, which is to pass or pass over; however from Fortune, the Empire is deriving
a large treasure or gold border in the shape of a festoon, a golden vessel or Discourse.
The second are announcements of the Prakriti, prakriti, or Arambha.



Details from the ceremonial robes themselves. The mosaic fabrics were made to order by the weavers and the goldsmiths but the central pieces, whose surfaces required more time, were crafted in the workshop and then put onto the robes in such a way that they could be removed and transported.





In the floor of the main hall, lions' heads and broken bands make the illusion of three-dimensional cases. On two bands that flank the main scene, among scenes of life, there are ten theatrical masks for typical roles in the Rose Coventry.



In the same room above, a male satyr seated on a rock is playing a double flute and a female Nymph is dancing on the tips of his toes.



In the last room between two spiraling mosaics, there is an amphora with a palm branch and under it a bird pecking fruit in front of the threshold of the room are facing dolphins.



Construction started on the theatre after 314 BC, but was not completed until almost 70 years later. The rainwater from the ledges was collected by drains in a large reservoir that supplied water to the upper city.





When construction began on the theatre, there were no houses in the surrounding district. Gradually, the houses began to climb up from the sea until they were just a few metres away from the theatre and the acra.



The Theater Quarter, the oldest district in the city, with its narrow uphill streets and high houses, is similar to medieval towns. The sun hardly reached down far enough to light the narrow streets which, in the winter months, would have been damp and muddy. Walking along those dark streets, the only things you could see were the high walls and a patch of sky above. But Mithridates, pirates and time joined forces and again the site permits the modern passer-by to see the island, the Aegean and the Cyclades all around.



